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Abstract

The objectives of this study were: (1) to determine the patterns of migration involved in farm to urban movement of families; (2) to compare the occupational achievement and rate of social and community participation of farm migrants with urban migrants and urban natives; and (3) to identify pre-migration and post-migration variables associated with satisfactory adjustment to urban conditions. Data on family composition, place of residence of husband and wife during childhood, educational attainment, and current age and occupation of husband were obtained from a random sample of 2,178 households in Des Moines, Iowa. Four groups of data were studied in detail: (1) incidence of migrants from communities of different sizes and patterns of migration; (2) status achievement patterns; (3) community relationships; and (4) family relationships. The conclusions of the study were that most differences between farm migrants and urban migrants and urban natives were accounted for by lower education levels among farm migrants. In addition, there were few measurable differences in adjustments to city life. [Not available in hard copy due to marginal legibility of original document.] (TL)

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Farm Migrants to the City

A comparison of the status, achievement, community and family relations of farm migrants with urban migrants and urban natives in Des Moines, Iowa

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Summary

Data on family composition, place of residence of husband and wife during the socialization period of childhood (age 5-19 years), educational attainment, and current age and occupation of husband were obtained from a random sample of 2,178 households in Des Moines, Iowa.

The 1,693 households that included a married couple were divided fairly equally among four groups according to where the husband lived the majority of the years between the ages of 5 and 19: farm reared (26 percent), rural nonfarm reared (21 percent), urban reared (23 percent) and natives of Des Moines (30 percent). Wives were distributed similarly in relation to childhood residence, but the wives' socialization experiences corresponded to the husbands' in less than half of all cases. As a consequence, most couples represented mixed backgrounds: 46 percent contained at least one spouse with farm or rural background, and only 8.5 percent were composed of husbands and wives who always had lived in Des Moines.

Three groups of married couples with common residential experience during the years of socialization were selected for intensive study. These included 164 farm-migrant, 145 urban-migrant and 144 Des Moines native couples. A systematic sample of every ninth household in the original sample was interviewed as well.

Four bodies of data are studied in detail: (1) incidence of migrants from communities of different sizes and patterns of migration; (2) status achievement patterns; (3) community relationships; and (4) family relationships.

Occupational achievement of men with different socialization backgrounds was compared for both the original sample and smaller selected samples. Similar results were obtained: Farm-migrant and rural-migrant men had lower occupational status than the urban migrants and natives. In both analyses, however, when age or time in the city and education were controlled, differences in occupational achievement among the socialization groups became nonsignificant.

Income was correlated with occupational achievement and, like occupational achievement, was highest among urban migrants and lowest among farm migrants. As with occupational achievement, education and age were the important sources of variation in income. In this case, however, there was evidence that, among the older and the better educated men, urban migrants earned more income than farm migrants. Urban migrants either had higher earnings for jobs of comparable status, had more non-job income, or both.

Variations in real estate values in the residential neighborhood were related to age, education and socialization experience in the same manner as income. Again, differences between socialization groups were greatest in the older age group and among those with more than a high school education.

The first jobs that the farm migrants held in Des Moines were significantly lower level jobs than the first jobs of the urban migrants, but differences in education accounted for most of the differences in level of first job. Although both migrant groups improved their occupational status with successive jobs, the kind and amount of job mobility did not vary significantly among the groups. The data do suggest, however, that persons with more than a high school education are somewhat more likely to experience upward job mobility.

Urban migrants and urban natives had slightly higher median occupational status scores than their fathers, but farm migrants had a lower median score than their fathers even when the lower score (tenant-operator rather than owner-operator) was used in computing the median for the fathers of farm migrants.

Proportions of wives employed did not vary greatly among the three groups of families. Approximately 85 percent of the wives in each group had worked at some time during their marriages, and 79 percent had worked before marriage. One-third worked while they had preschool children, and one-fourth continued to work while they had school-age children. The wife's job status was directly associated with that of her husband's.

Greater proportions of farm-migrant couples than other couples personally identified with a lower social position commensurate with their lower occupational status and income, but differences in education explained most of the differences in social class identification. Most couples placed themselves in the same class as that of their parents' families, but the number thinking they had moved up one class above their parents exceeded those thinking they had moved down. Social class identification of the couples interviewed agreed more closely with that of the husband's family than of the wife's. There were no differences among the migrants and natives in amount of intergenerational class mobility.

Aspirations for their children's education were lower among farm-migrant couples than among other couples, suggesting that living in the city had not modified the traditional lower value placed on education by farm residents. For those with grown children, lower aspirations of parents for their children's education were paralleled by a lower level of attainment on the part of the children of farm-reared parents.

Aspirations for children's occupations were uniformly high. Occupational status of mature children, however, was closely correlated with the occupation of the father.

Occupational status, because of its influence on nonoccupational roles, was used as a control variable in analyses of community relationships. Various measures of social participation, both formal and informal, were positively correlated with occupational status but were not significantly related to socialization experience.

Farm migrants were no more active in religious sects than urban migrants and natives.

With one important exception, anticipated conditions of city life and reports of what actually happened were basically the same both for farm and urban migrants. More farm migrants than urban migrants said that they anticipated less involvement in social affairs of the city and felt that they had stayed out of activities. Social participation scores contradict this opinion, however: Farm migrants were as active as urban migrants or natives. The discrepancy between farm migrants' subjective evaluations of their anticipated and actual participation and objective measures of that participation points to the perpetuation of a value orientation among farm migrants which, in fact, is not reflected in their behavior.

More of the farm migrants than the urban migrants viewed the move to Des Moines as permanent, but there were no significant differences between the two migrant groups in the proportion anticipating future changes in residence.

The principal reason for moving to Des Moines for both migrant groups was to find a better job. The majority of each group said that they were better off because of the move, and the first-ranking reason was a better job. Better housing, or better living conditions, was the second-ranking reason. This reason was given by a larger proportion of farm migrants than of urban migrants.

The move to Des Moines was not viewed as all gain by either migrant group. Unfriendliness of neighbors, interrupted contact with former friends, dissatisfaction with recreational facilities, and the high cost of housing and taxes were important costs mentioned by approximately equal proportions of both groups. A greater proportion of farm migrants than urban migrants protested urban congestion, dirt and noise, and the rapid pace of urban life. The two groups did not differ significantly, however, on a measure of over-all satisfaction with living conditions based on a series of questions.

Both migrant groups made similar recommendations for improvement of the city, and both were more critical and had more suggestions for improvement than did the natives. The migrants thought that more effort should be made to make people feel welcome and that the churches, especially, should be more friendly.

There was no evidence, in responses to questions concerning source of advice sought on matters such as child rearing, finances or personal and emotional problems, of greater adherence to gemeinschaft norms by farm migrants than by the other two groups.

Measures of family relations did not vary greatly among the three selected samples. The median familism score for the farm-migrant sample was slightly higher than for the other two samples, but, when husbands' occupational status was controlled, the already small differences decreased. Differences in proportions of families reporting large gatherings were minor as were differences in frequency of such gatherings and the occasions for them. Although Des Moines natives had the most relatives in the city, median number of visits per month per relative were similar for all three groups.

Farm migrants visited more frequently with relatives outside the city than either of the other two groups but had more relatives living in the surrounding county. In contrast, relatives of natives and migrants were more widely scattered. Also, though greater proportions of farm migrants had relatives living in Des Moines at the time of the move, equal proportions of each migrant group reported that relatives had influenced their decision to move to Des Moines. Also, help patterns among related families were about the same in all three samples.

More of the children of farm migrants than of urban migrants had to adjust to a larger school when they moved to Des Moines. There was no evidence, however, that the children of farm migrants had more difficulty than did the children of urban migrants in adjusting to changes in schools and friends. In fact, the children of urban-migrant families were more frequently described as not liking the Des Moines school and their new friends as well as their old school and old friends.

The findings of this study support three general conclusions: (1) Although farm migrants had lower achievement in occupational status, income and other measures of socio-economic status in the city than did urban migrants and urban natives, most of the differences were accounted for by lower educational levels among farm migrants. (2) There were few measurable differences in adjustments to city life, and the few significant differences that were observed could be accounted for largely by differences in occupational status among the three samples. (3) There were no significant differences between farm migrants. urban migrants and Des Moines natives in the various manifestations of familism.

Farm Migrants to the City [1]

A Comparison of the Status, Achievement, Community and Family Relations of Farm Migrants with Urban Migrants and Urban Natives in Des Moines, Iowa

by Ward W. Bauder and Lee G. Burchinal[2]

Rural-urban migration is part of the massive residential mobility characteristic of the United States today. The number of persons changing residence each year is equal to one-fifth of the population, making migration the norm for a major section of the population. Earlier in our history, migration from farms to cities resulted mainly from pull factors in the cities, but in recent decades improvements in agricultural technology have added the enormous push factor of a burdensome labor surplus in agriculture. The continued rapid decline of labor requirements in agriculture and changes in the urban labor force, including increased competition for jobs and requirements of higher skill, have sharpened interest in the adjustment of farm- and rural-reared persons to the urban environment.

Adjustment of the farm or rural migrant to the urban environment is problem-solving behavior brought about by differences between the norms learned in a farm or rural community and the norms of the urban community to which the rural person migrates. Errors in prediction of expected behavior by the migrant will vary in kind and magnitude with the nature and magnitude of salient differences in norms between the pre-migration and post-migration environments and with the extent of the migrants' knowledge and understanding of these differences.[3] Obviously the adjustment problems of a person moving from the rural parts of a metropolitan county to a suburb of the metropolitan center of that county will be less difficult than those of a migrant from an isolated Appalachian or Ozark rural community to a distant center such as Chicago, Detroit or New York.

Most rural migrants to the city find an environment already modified by earlier contingents of their own kind. A national study conducted in 1952 indicated that a third of the nonfarm population of the United States was farm reared.[4] Certainly the presence of this farm-reared one-third in the nonfarm population influences the urban environment to which rural migrants must adjust. But the proportion of rural migrants varies from city to city. It is larger in the small urban places in agricultural sections of the country and smaller in the large metropolitan centers of industrial sections. In addition to the number and proportion of former rural residents now living in a city, measures of adjustment of rural newcomers also will vary, no doubt, with the kind of research design used.

Most studies of rural migrants in the city have used a comparative approach in which adjustment of a rural-migrant group is compared with that of an urban-reared group. Empirical evidence that migration is selective on factors associated with social and occupational adjustment suggests the need to distinguish between urban natives and migrants from another city in the criterion group.[5] Any modern urban place will contain two groups of urban-reared persons—natives and migrants from other cities. These two groups are differentially influenced by the selectivity forces in migration. The natives are the residual product of the same process that selects the migrants from another city. Natives or non-migrants may share many cultural elements with the urban migrant, but they will differ in those characteristics such as age and education for which migration is selective. Furthermore, to the extent that their urban place of origin differs from their urban destination, the urban migrant shares with the rural mi-

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[1] Project 1440 of the Iowa Agricultural and Home Economics Experiment Station. The data on which this bulletin is based were secured as part of a cooperative research project of the Farm Population Branch of the Economic Research Service, USDA, and the Iowa Agricultural and Home Economics Experiment Station.

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[3] For an elaboration of this general model see: Lee G. Burchinal and Ward W. Bauder. Adjustments to the new institutional environment. In: Family mobility in our dynamic society. Iowa State University Press, Ames. 1965.

[4] Ronald Freedman and Deborah Freedman. Farm-reared elements in the nonfarm population. Rural Soc. 21:50-61. 1956.

[5] C. T. Pihlblad and C. L. Gregory. Selective aspects of migration among Missouri high school graduates. Amer. Soc. Rev. 19:3. 1954.

grant the need to adjust to different social systems. On the other hand, migrants from rural communities will differ from urban migrants and from urban natives in those elements of socialization experience associated with differences in size of community of orientation.

In the present study, Des Moines natives were, therefore, distinguished from migrants to Des Moines from other cities. Thus, farm and rural migrants were compared with urban migrants to Des Moines, and each migrant group was compared with Des Moines natives.

Comparative analysis of adjustment has a serious limitation. Migrants have two environments from which to draw evaluations of their own performance—the urban place to which they have migrated and their communities of orientation. By urban standards, rural migrants may compare unfavorably with an urban-reared group, but, by standards of their earlier rural reference groups, they may have been quite successful in improving their social and economic positions through migration. Longitudinal studies with before-and-after measures of adjustment, based on the two environments, are necessary for conclusive results; lacking the opportunity for before-and-after data, we were forced to use data based on recall as a partial substitute.

Most studies in the United States and other countries[6] show that rural migrants have lower achievement on most measures of participation in urban life than do urban-reared persons. The bases of this generalization are not well established. One obvious factor is difference in education. Although quality of education is difficult to control, quantity, as measured by years of schooling, is easily obtained and can be controlled in comparative analyses, making it possible to distinguish group differences due to variations in quantity of education and differences due to other socialization factors. Similarly, status is an important determinant of level of participation in community affairs. Analyses designed to control on status, therefore, make it possible to distinguish differences that are the product of status differences from differences that result from other factors in the rural socialization experiences of migrants.

Adjustment has a temporal aspect. Time in the urban environment and age of the migrant are readily available measures of the time dimension and are susceptible to statistical control. Several studies have identified length of city residence as an important variable in adjustment of rural migrants to urban conditions.[7]

Objectives

The general objectives were:

1. To determine the patterns of migration involved in farm to urban movement of families in an Iowa setting.
2. To compare the occupational achievement and rate of social and community participation of farm migrants with urban migrants and urban natives, and to identify factors which explain any observed differences among the groups in these factors.
3. To identify pre-migration and post-migration variables associated with satisfactory adjustment to urban conditions.

Setting

Des Moines, the state capital of Iowa, was the site of the study. A previous study in Cedar Rapids, conducted primarily for another purpose, indicated that rural migrants had lower occupational achievement than urban-reared persons, even when differences in education were accounted for.[8] Des Moines provided an opportunity to test the generality of the Cedar Rapids finding for a different kind of urban center. Des Moines differs markedly from Cedar Rapids. Besides being the state capital and, therefore, the location of many government and other agency offices, Des Moines is a sales and insurance center. In contrast to other major cities in Iowa it has relatively few factory workers. In 1960 only 21 percent of the Des Moines labor force was employed in manufacturing, compared with 36 percent in Cedar Rapids and Waterloo and 37 percent in Davenport - Rock Island - Moline. On the other hand, 53 percent of the Des Moines labor force was in white collar positions compared with 43 percent in Cedar Rapids and 41 percent in Waterloo and Davenport - Rock Island - Moline. No doubt the structure of the labor force in a city influences the kind of in-migrants attracted to it and the kind of persons who remain in the area.

Hypotheses

The analysis upon which the bulk of this report is based was guided by three general hypotheses. Stated in the null form they are: (1) There are no differences in status achievement, as measured by a series of occupational and socio-economic variables, among farm-migrant, urban-migrant

[6] For reviews of U. S. studies see: Ward W. Bauder and Lee G. Burchinal. Adjustment of rural-reared adults in urban areas. In: Lee G. Burchinal. Rural youth in crises: facts, myths and social change. U. S. Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. (Forthcoming.) See also: Lee G. Burchinal with A. O. Haller and Marvin J. Taves. Career choices of rural youth in a changing society. Minn. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 458 (North Central Regional Res. Pub. 142). 1962. For listing of European studies see: G. Beijer. Rural migrants in urban setting. Martinus Nijhoff. The Hague. 1963. Includes review of studies in 12 European countries, with a bibliography of 1,300 titles.

[7] Howard W. Beers and Catherine Heflin. Rural people in the city. Ky. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 478. 1945.
Charles Tilly. The assimilation of rural and urban migrants to Wilmington, Delaware. Unpublished paper presented at the Rural Sociological Society meetings in Washington, D. C. 1962.

[8] Lee G. Burchinal and Perry E. Jacobson. Migration and adjustment of farm and nonfarm families and adolescents in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Iowa Agr. and Home Econ. Exp. Sta. Res. Bul. 516. 1963.

and native persons, after differences in education and age are controlled. (2) There are no differences in rates of participation in community activities among farm migrant, urban migrant and urban native, after differences in status are controlled. (3) There are no differences in familism and extended family relations among farm migrant, urban migrant and urban native, after status differences are held constant.

Sample and Procedure

Several samples of respondents were used in this study. The first was based on a sample of all properties listed in the urban area. The number of households included in this initial sample was 2,186.

The first research endeavor was to obtain screening interviews from an adult in these households. The telephone was used to obtain data pertaining to family composition, residence of the husband and wife during ages 5 to 19, and the education, current age and current occupation of the husband. Completed telephone interviews were obtained from 1,929 households. Only nine respondents refused to give the information requested. Personal interviews were completed with an adult in all but two of the households not having telephones and with three of the nine who had refused telephone interviews. A total of 2,178 interviews were obtained.

Although the limited information obtained in these interviews permitted certain analyses, it was not sufficient to meet all objectives of the study. These interviews were primarily intended to identify three groups of families selected for more intensive study. These families included married couples who met certain criteria based on the husbands' and wives' places of residence between the ages of 5 and 19. The three study groups included: (1) farm-migrant families, husbands and wives who had lived a majority of their years from age 5 to 19 on a farm; (2) urban-migrant families, husbands and wives who had lived a majority of their years from age 5 to 19 in urban places other than Des Moines; (3) Des Moines native families, husbands and wives who had always lived in Des Moines. Of the 2,178 households, 1,714 contained a married couple and of these 162 were farm-migrant couples, 161 were urban-migrant couples and 148 were natives of Des Moines.

Several families had left the city in the interim between the telephone interviews and the personal interviews (3 to 4 months); several families refused to cooperate in the more detailed interview, and the detailed interview indicated that some were misclassified by the original interview. As a result, the final numbers for the three groups became 164 for farm migrants, 145 for urban migrants and 144 for Des Moines natives.

Extensive personal interviews were conducted with husbands and wives in these three study groups. Most of the information was obtained from the wives, but information on husbands' employment experience and attitudes was obtained directly from husbands.

Data obtained from all three study-group families included household composition, family residential history since marriage, work histories of husband and wife, occupation of the fathers of the husband and the wife and of the husband's brothers, family help patterns, visiting patterns with relatives in and out of Des Moines and with nonrelatives, kind and frequency of family gatherings, aspiration for children's education and occupation, education, occupation and residence of mature children, satisfaction with living facilities in the home and community, neighboring, sources of advice on financial, personal and family problems, social participation, familism, status position of the family, status concern and income level. Additional questions asked families in the two migrant groups were: ages of children at the time the family moved to Des Moines, responses of children to changes in school and peer groups, ways in which life was changed for the family by the move to Des Moines, and expectations regarding what would happen after the move and what actually happened.

In addition to the three study groups, a random sample of one-ninth of all households in the initial sample was interviewed with a schedule which differed from that used for the study-group families, primarily in the greater emphasis given to questions about family help patterns, visiting patterns with relatives in and out of Des Moines and with nonrelatives, kind and frequency of family gatherings, aspirations for children's education and occupation, distribution of responsibility for family tasks, distribution of authority in decision making, familism, status position of the family, status concern and income level.

The random sample contained 239 households, including 54 non-husband-wife households from whom only household composition information was obtained. Thus, the random sample husband-wife families totaled only 195. The 45 families in the random sample who also qualified for one of the three study groups were asked both sets of questions.

Findings are organized into four sections: (1) a description of the incidence of migrants of different backgrounds in the Des Moines population studied; (2) analyses of operational hypotheses generated by the first general hypothesis; (3) analyses of operational hypotheses generated by the second general hypothesis; and (4) analyses of operational hypotheses generated by the third general hypothesis.

MIGRATION AND RESIDENCE PATTERNS

Incidence of Migrants

Very few Des Moines couples are truly native. Only 8.5 percent of the couples were composed of husbands and wives who had both lived all their lives in Des Moines, and only 16 percent were composed of husbands and wives who had lived a majority of their years between the ages of 5 and 19 in that city. In contrast, 27 percent of the Des Moines couples surveyed had rural backgrounds. The remaining couples represented a mixture of backgrounds.

Disregarding couples and considering the Des Moines husbands and wives interviewed as individuals, we found that only 54 percent had urban backgrounds: the rest grew up in rural places. Very likely this large proportion of rural-reared adults in Des Moines influences the social systems of the city and the environment to which the migrants must adjust.

Migration Patterns

Information about place of residence was obtained from the time of marriage to the time of the survey but was not asked for the period from the age of 19 to the time of marriage. Thus, analyses of routes of migration to Des Moines were limited to the time since marriage.

Couples in the native Des Moines group were considered to have had no migration experience since marriage, although they may have changed residence within Des Moines. Also, 33 percent of the urban migrants and 42 percent of the farm migrants moved to Des Moines either before marriage or at the time of marriage and had lived in Des Moines all the time since marriage.

Patterns of migration of the two migrant samples differed significantly in two respects. First, the residential experience of farm migrants was restricted more to Iowa than was that of urban migrants. Seventy percent of all farm-migrant couples had always lived in Iowa compared with 49 percent of the urban-migrant couples. An additional 24 percent of the farm-migrant couples and 7 percent of the urban-migrant couples had been married in Iowa, moved out of state, and had returned. The remainder of each group, 7 percent of the farm migrants and 44 percent of the urban migrants, were married in another state.[9]

Secondly, since marriage, the farm-migrant couples had lived in a greater variety of different sized places. As shown in table 1, 7 percent of the farm-migrant families came directly to Des Moines from a farm residence, 16 percent lived in rural nonfarm places, and 32 percent lived in other urban places before coming to Des Moines. In contrast, none of the urban migrants had lived on a farm and only 5 percent had lived in rural nonfarm residences.

Table 1. Percentage distribution of farm- and urban-migrant couples by size of place lived in since marriage and by the education of the husbands.

Migration to Des Moines from size of place lived in since marriage	Years of education of husbands							
	Farm migrants				Urban migrants			
	11 or less	12	13 or more	Total	11 or less	12	13 or more	Total
N	73	67	24	164	32	49	64	145
Farm	9.5	6.0	4.2	7.3	0.0	0.0	0.0	0.0
Rural nonfarm[a]	23.3	15.0	0.0	16.5	6.2	8.2	3.2	5.4
Urban, up to 100,000 persons	24.7	25.4	46.0	28.0	25.0	40.8	54.6	43.5
Urban, over 100,000 persons except Des Moines	2.7	4.4	8.2	4.3	25.0	10.2	15.6	15.9
Des Moines	38.4	46.2	41.6	42.1	40.7	38.8	25.0	33.1
Other[b]	1.4	3.0	0.0	1.8	3.1	2.0	1.6	2.1
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

[a] All couples in this category lived in rural-nonfarm areas immediately after their marriages, and about half of each migrant sample moved directly from rural-nonfarm residences to Des Moines whereas the other half lived in one or more towns under 100,000 before moving to Des Moines.

[b] "Other" includes families living in rural areas immediately adjacent to Des Moines who were included in the sample, including several living on farms.

For comparison of the two total columns, $X^2 = 35.88$, $df = 4$, $P < 0.001$; the "Other" category was excluded.

Level of education of husbands is shown in table 1, principally to permit assessment of the relationship between education of husbands and patterns of migration to Des Moines for farm migrants. Approximately equal proportions of farm-migrant men in the three educational categories began their married lives in Des Moines. Otherwise, less well-educated farm-migrant men were more likely to have begun their marriages while living on farms or in rural-nonfarm areas and then to have moved to Des Moines. Those with education beyond high school were more likely to have had prior urban experiences before coming to Des Moines. As a consequence, the proportion of farm-migrant men with more than 12 years of education and whose post-marriage residential experience was all in urban places was equal to that of the urban migrants (96 percent). The less well-educated farm migrants took a less direct road to the city and came by way of rural-nonfarm residences.

Regardless of the educational levels of husbands, however, the couples in the farm-migrant sample had considerable experience in living in Des Moines. Their median length of residence in

[9] For this three-way comparison of the two migrant categories, $X^2 = 64.13$, $df = 2$, $P<0.001$.

Des Moines since marriage was 10.8 years, compared with 8.1 years for the urban-migrant couples and 14.4 years for the couples who always had lived in Des Moines. Moreover, the total period of urban residence of many of the persons included in the farm-migrant sample exceeded the length of time lived in Des Moines. We know that the 32 percent of the couples who reported living in other cities since their marriage had additional experience in urban living, and some individuals among the other couples may have lived in a city between the time they became 19 and the time they were married.

Residential Mobility

Because of differences in median years married, a ratio of moves per years married was used in comparing the residential mobility of the three study groups. Differences were small but indicated that urban migrants were somewhat more mobile than farm migrants or Des Moines natives. Mobility rates of the migrant groups were approximately the same before and after the move to Des Moines.

The higher median age of spouses in the farm-migrant group was reflected by differences in three other characteristics: (1) length of time since marriage, (2) size of household and (3) stage in the family life cycle. Farm-migrant couples had been married 18 years compared with 15.6 years for urban migrants and 14.4 years for Des Moines natives. Larger proportions of farm-migrant families were in the post-child stage with children matured and away from home (21 percent compared with 9 percent for urban migrants and 6 percent for Des Moines natives) and, consequently, median size of household was smaller (3.9, 4.3 and 4.6 persons, respectively).

Because of large differences in occupational status among the three groups and because of the functional relationship of occupational status and residential mobility, this variable was used as a control in the analysis. Mobility increased with occupational status (as measured by North-Hatt scores)[10] for farm migrants and urban migrants, but the reverse relationship prevailed for natives.

A possible explanation for this reversal is suggested by the age distribution of the native group. The proportion of native husbands who were 40 years of age or older was lower than normal, suggesting some out-migration of native Des Moines men.

Since occupational status tends to be directly related to age while job mobility tends to be inversely related to age, the concentration of younger men in the native group could very well explain part of the higher residential mobility among the urban natives in the lower occupational status group. The high-status native men would then represent a residual group who for various reasons other than occupational status are less mobile geographically than are high-status persons generally.

OCCUPATIONAL ACHIEVEMENT

If one index were to be used, the occupation of the family head probably would be the single most reliable and informative measure of the position of the family in society. It is appropriate, therefore, in comparing the relative social position or status of urban families from differing size communities of orientation, to start with occupational achievement.

Two sets of data were available for this comparison—data from the screening interviews and data from the three study groups. Since the screening interviews included information on education, current occupation, age and place of residence during the socialization period (5 to 19 years of age), it was possible to compare occupational achievement of four groups of married men, three groups from which the study groups were chosen, plus a fourth, the rural-nonfarm migrants. All men who had lived a majority of their years between the ages 5 and 19 in one of these four environments were included. Samples included 438 farm migrant, 322 rural-nonfarm migrant, 368 urban migrant and 356 native men.

Age, Educational and Occupational Characteristics of Four Groups of Men

Among migrants, the median age of the farm-reared husbands was the highest (49.0) and the urban-reared the lowest (43.3), with the rural-nonfarm reared in between (47.1). Des Moines natives had a lower median age (41.3) than any of the three migrant groups. The lower median age of the Des Moines natives reflects the lower proportions of older men in this group. Only 17 percent of Des Moines natives were 55 and older as compared with 39 percent of the farm-reared, 32 of the rural-nonfarm reared, and 29 percent of the urban-reared migrants. Part of this difference results because some of the migrants, particularly the farm migrants, moved to Des Moines at or near retirement age but have continued to work. For example, 20 percent of the farm migrants and 14 percent of the rural-nonfarm migrants were age 65 or older, compared with 12

[10] Cecil C. North and Paul K. Hatt. Jobs and occupations: a popular evaluation. Opinion News 9:3-13. 1947. North and Hatt developed scores for only 90 different occupations. Scores for the approximately 400 additional occupations encountered in this study were determined by interpolations, using the opinions of several professional sociologists. A study, made after the analyses in this report were completed, tested the degree of correspondence of the original North-Hatt scores and a random sample of 183 of the 400 interpolations with the opinions of a random sample of the Des Moines population. Correlation coefficients of scores, produced by asking Des Moines residents the same questions as were asked in the original North-Hatt study, were +0.973 for occupations included in the original North-Hatt and +0.844 for the interpolated scores.

percent of the urban-reared migrants and 6 percent of the natives. There is, however, another possible reason for the differences in age distribution. The low proportion of Des Moines natives, 55 and older, may have been caused by out-migration of middle-aged native men.

Although median years of schooling did not vary greatly among the four groups, proportions of husbands with one or more years of college varied considerably (table 2). Proportions of men either with some college or with four or more years of college training were approximately twice as great in the urban migrant as in the farm migrant group. Rural-nonfarm migrants were in between in proportion with 4 years of college but included a larger proportion of men who had 1, 2 or 3 years of college than either of the other two migrant groups. Des Moines natives included the smallest percentage of men with four or more years of college, but the proportion of this sample with some college training was twice as great as that for the farm migrants and roughly the same as for the nonfarm migrants and the urban migrants.

In table 3, the advantage in occupational achievement of urban-reared migrants over farm-reared migrants is clear: 63 percent of the former were in the nonmanual group, compared with 42 percent of the latter. The rural-nonfarm reared were intermediate in occupational status. Among all urban reared, a substantially higher proportion of the migrants than natives held nonmanual occupations. The proportion of Des Moines natives in nonmanual occupations was below that of rural-nonfarm-reared migrants, and was only slightly higher than that of the farm reared.

Table 2. Number and percentage distribution of farm, rural nonfarm, and urban migrant and Des Moines native husbands by years of schooling.

Years of schooling	Migrants						Nonmigrants	
	Farm migrants		Rural nonfarm migrants		Urban migrants		Des Moines natives	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
8 or less	123	29.2	32	10.2	52	14.3	26	7.4
9, 10 or 11	75	17.8	66	21.0	54	14.5	91	26.1
12	145	34.4	126	40.0	118	32.5	150	43.0
13, 14 and 15	25	5.9	40	12.7	42	11.6	44	12.6
16+	53	12.6	51	16.2	97	25.7	38	10.9
Total	421	99.9	315	100.1	363	100.0	349	100.0
Median	12.1		12.5		12.6		12.4	

Table 3. Percentage distribution of farm, rural nonfarm, and urban migrant and Des Moines native husbands by occupation (census classification).

Occupation	Migrants			Nonmigrants
	Farm migrants	Rural nonfarm migrants	Urban migrants	Des Moines natives
	(%)	(%)	(%)	(%)
Nonmanual	42.3	50.2	62.9	45.7
Professional, technical	8.6	11.9	17.2	7.4
Managers, officials and proprietors	15.2	15.8	23.3	19.1
Clerical	6.1	6.3	6.7	7.7
Sales	12.4	16.1	15.6	11.4
Manual	57.7	49.8	37.1	54.3
Craftsmen and foremen	21.5	18.6	17.8	27.8
Operatives	24.9	20.4	11.6	16.7
Service workers	5.5	5.6	3.7	5.2
Laborers	5.8	5.3	4.0	4.6
Total all occupations	100.0	100.0	99.9	99.9

Effects of Variations in Ages, Educational Levels and Community of Orientation on Occupational Achievement

To test the general hypothesis that there are no differences in economic and occupational achievement among migrants from different sized communities of orientation and urban natives after education and age are controlled, six operational hypotheses were developed for comparing relevant characteristics of men in the several groups. The hypotheses are: (1) there are no differences in current job status; (2) there are no differences in income; (3) there are no differences in value of real estate for the residential area lived in; (4) there are no differences in job mobility; (5) there are no differences in social class or class mobility as subjectively determined by the respondent; and (6) there are no differences in parents' aspiration levels for their children. All operational hypotheses included the condition that educational level and age were controlled. Analysis of variance was used in testing each hypothesis.

Substantive data and the table of analysis of variance results are presented only for the first test. For brevity these tables are omitted in succeeding analyses, and graphic presentation is used to show the nature and direction of associations.

North-Hatt scores were used to measure occupational achievement. Scores were concentrated in the middle range: more than 80 percent were between 54 (truck driver) and 78 (public school teacher). The over-all median was 66.9, with relatively little variation in median scores among the four groups. Medians ranged from 65.3 for farm-reared migrants to 68.6 for urban-reared migrants. Means were somewhat lower, ranging from 63.5 for the farm-reared migrants to 67.8 for the urban-reared migrants.

In all four samples, North-Hatt scores were related directly to years of schooling (see fig. 1). Relationships between occupational achievement and education varied considerably among the four samples for men who had less than 12 years of education, but among men with 12 years or more schooling relationships were similar, regardless

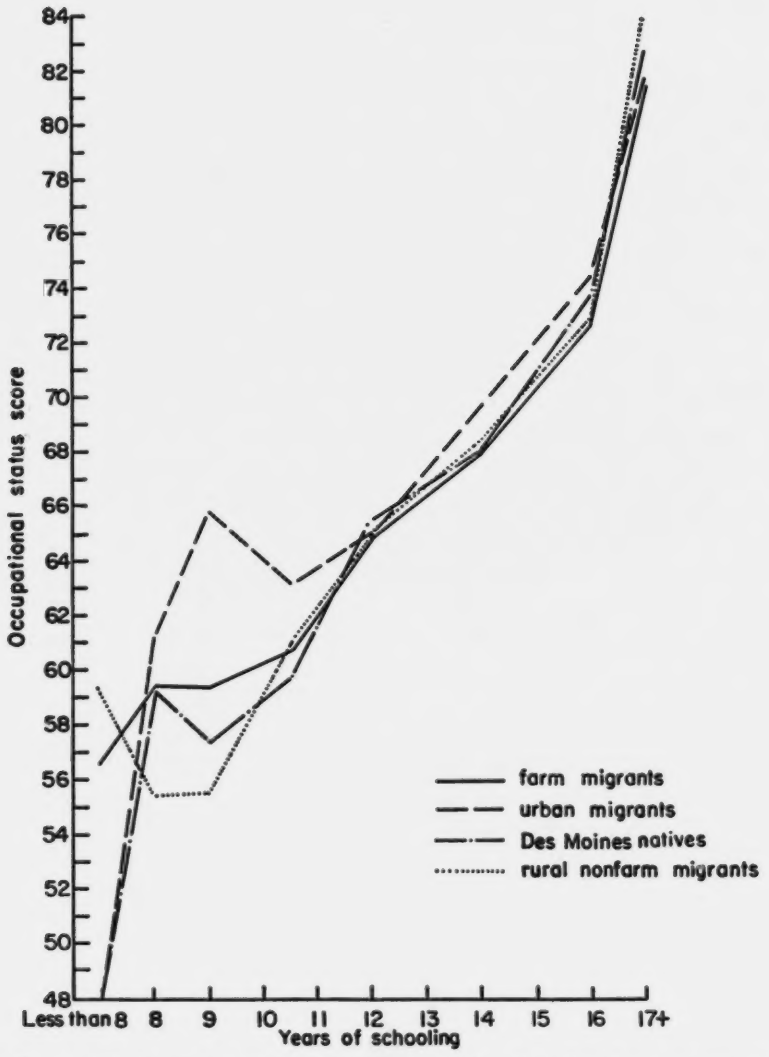

Fig. 1. Occupational status by years of schooling for four groups of Des Moines husbands — farm, rural nonfarm and urban migrants and Des Moines natives.

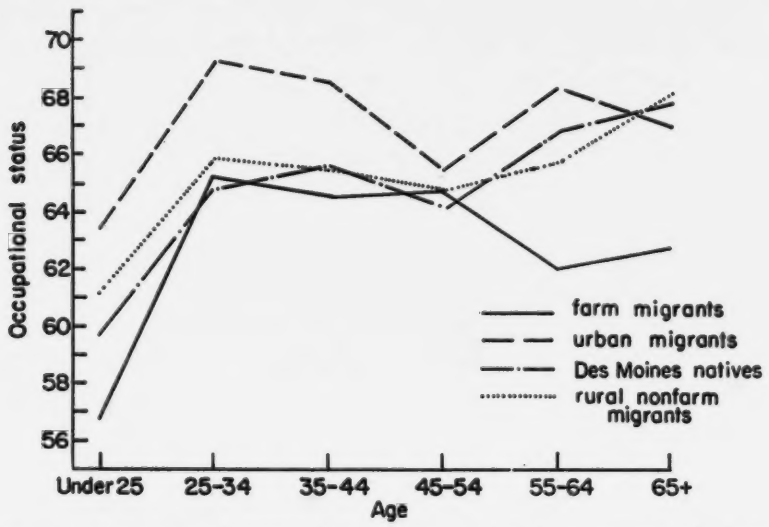

Fig 2. Occupational status by age group for four groups of Des Moines husbands — farm, rural nonfarm and urban migrants and Des Moines natives.

of community backgrounds. This suggests that, for those with less than a twelfth grade education, years of schooling is a less reliable measure of potential for occupational achievement than it is for those who finished or went beyond high school.

The relationship between occupational achievement and age took a different form (fig. 2). Regardless of differences in community of orientation, husbands reached their peak in job status by their late twenties or early thirties. During their twenties job changes usually resulted in improvement in status, but after the age of 30 further job changes did not usually result in changes in status until near the end of their work careers.

Urban-reared migrants had an advantage in job status at almost all age levels. Farm-reared migrants were at the greatest disadvantage in the oldest age groups.

Age and educational attainment were trichotomized to produce the nine groups shown in table 4. Mean North-Hatt scores were computed for each group, and analysis of variance was calculated for the resulting set of data. Relationships among the three variables are shown graphically in fig. 3, and statistical results are given in table 5. Of the three sources of variation, age and education were more closely associated with differences in occupational achievement, and of these two, education was by far the more important. Size of community of childhood residence was not a significant source of variation in occupational achievement. Also, there was no evidence of interaction between community of orientation and age or education or between age and education. These results suggest that childhood and adolescent socialization experiences, other than formal education, did not have a measurable influence on

Table 4. Mean occupational status scores of farm, rural nonfarm, and urban migrants and Des Moines native husbands in nine age and educational groups.

Age	Years of schooling	Farm migrants	Rural nonfarm migrants	Urban migrants	Des Moines natives
Less than 35	0 - 11 yrs.	56.0	61.9	58.9	56.8
	12 yrs.	62.2	65.1	62.7	63.7
	13 or more	75.4	73.0	71.3	71.9
35 - 44	0 - 11 yrs.	59.4	59.4	56.7	57.8
	12 yrs.	64.7	63.9	64.8	66.4
	13 or more	73.3	75.0	73.8	71.1
45 and older	0 - 11 yrs.	59.7	63.0	60.2	65.0
	12 yrs.	64.3	67.4	68.0	65.5
	13 or more	73.6	78.6	76.2	75.3

Table 5. Results of analysis of variance of mean occupation scores of married males with community of orientation, age and education as sources of variation.

Source of variation		Degrees of freedom	Sum of squares	Mean square	Variance ratio
Community of orientation group	(A)	3	22	7.33	2.14
Age	(B)	2	67	33.50	9.80 [a]
Education	(C)	2	1,286	643.00	188.00 [b]
A x B		6	16	2.60	0.78
A x C		6	14	2.37	0.68
B x C		4	6	1.50	0.44
A x B x C		12	41	3.42	—

[a] Significant at 0.05 level

[b] Significant at 0.01 level

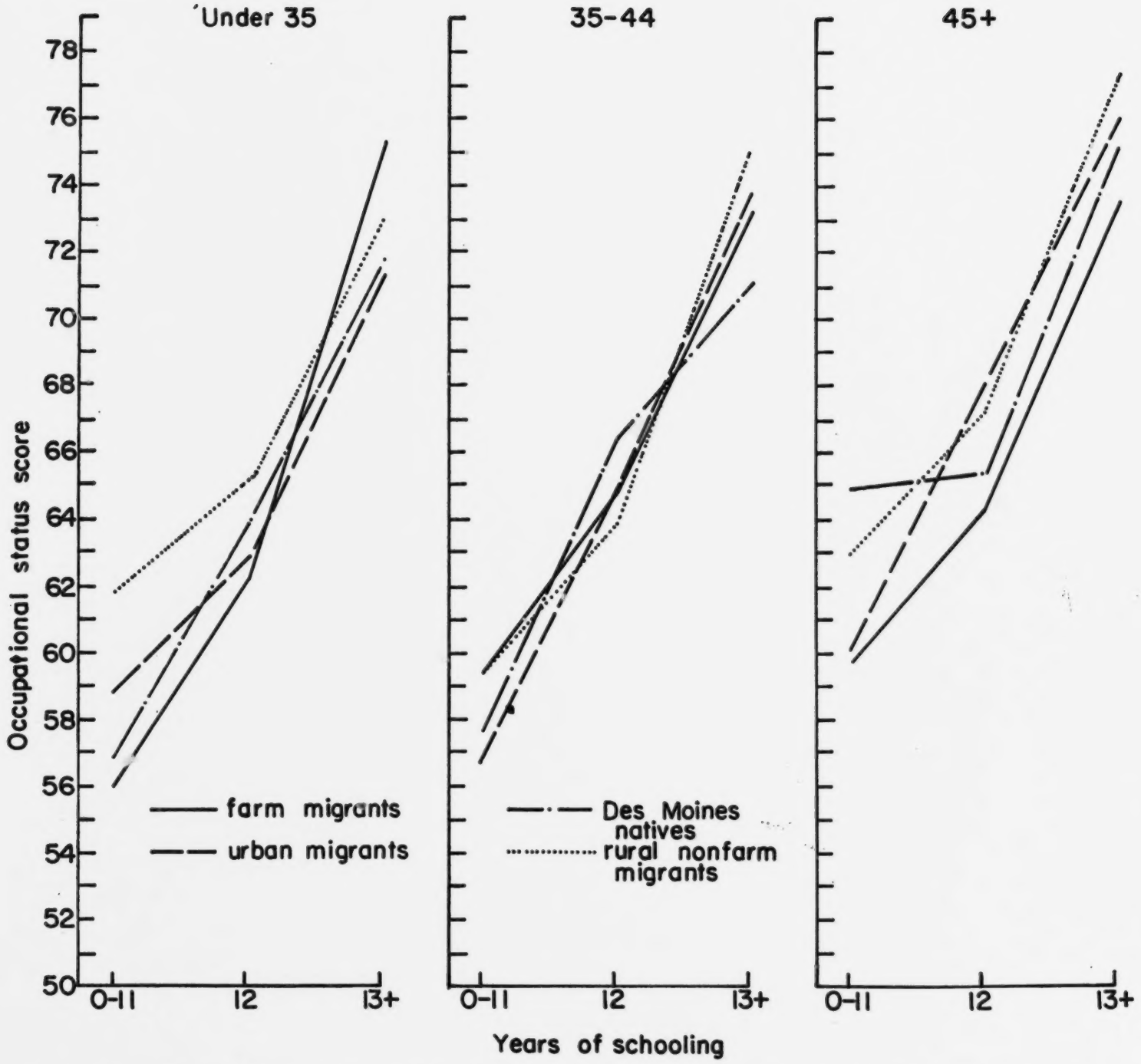

Fig. 3. Mean occupational status of farm migrants, rural nonfarm migrants, urban migrants and Des Moines native husbands by education within age group.

occupational achievement of men in these four samples.

When the occupational achievement of urban migrants was compared with that of urban natives, similar results were obtained. Education was the principal source of variance, age was secondary, and socialization experience was not a significant source of variation in occupational status (see fig. 3).

Characteristics of wives, especially in the companionate family system of urban society, may influence husbands' job levels. Therefore, the influence of differences in community of orientation of wives on the occupational achievement of husbands was tested. Comparison of mean occupational status scores of farm-reared husbands whose wives were also farm reared with those of farm-reared men who married urban-reared wives was used to test the hypothesis that the wife's childhood and adolescent socialization experience is associated with her husband's occupational achievement.

Farm-reared husbands with urban-reared wives had a slightly higher mean occupational status (64.2) than farm-reared men who married farm-reared women (62.1), but analysis of variance indicated that it was not the urban-reared wife that made the difference. Instead, it was the fact that farm-reared men who had married urban-reared women were also better educated. Of those who married urban-reared women, 26 percent had had some college education compared with 14 percent of those who married farm-reared women. Most of the variation in occupa-

tional status was related to educational level (see fig. 4); the age of husband was not a significant source of variation.

Occupational Status as Measured in Study Groups

Analyses of relationships among occupational status, age, education, and community of orientation were repeated with data from the three selected study groups. Since residence during the socialization period was controlled for wives as well as for husbands, wives' socialization experience was eliminated as a variable. Age and educational level were trichotomized in the same manner as for the larger samples. Because of the smaller number of cases in the study groups, median occupational status scores rather than mean scores were used in these analyses.

For the subsequent analyses, only educational level was significantly related to occupational status. In contrast with results based on the larger sample, age and occupational achievement were not significantly related. When age and educational level were trichotomized, median occupational status level was highest in the middle age category and lower at both extremes for both farm and urban migrants. Relationships between

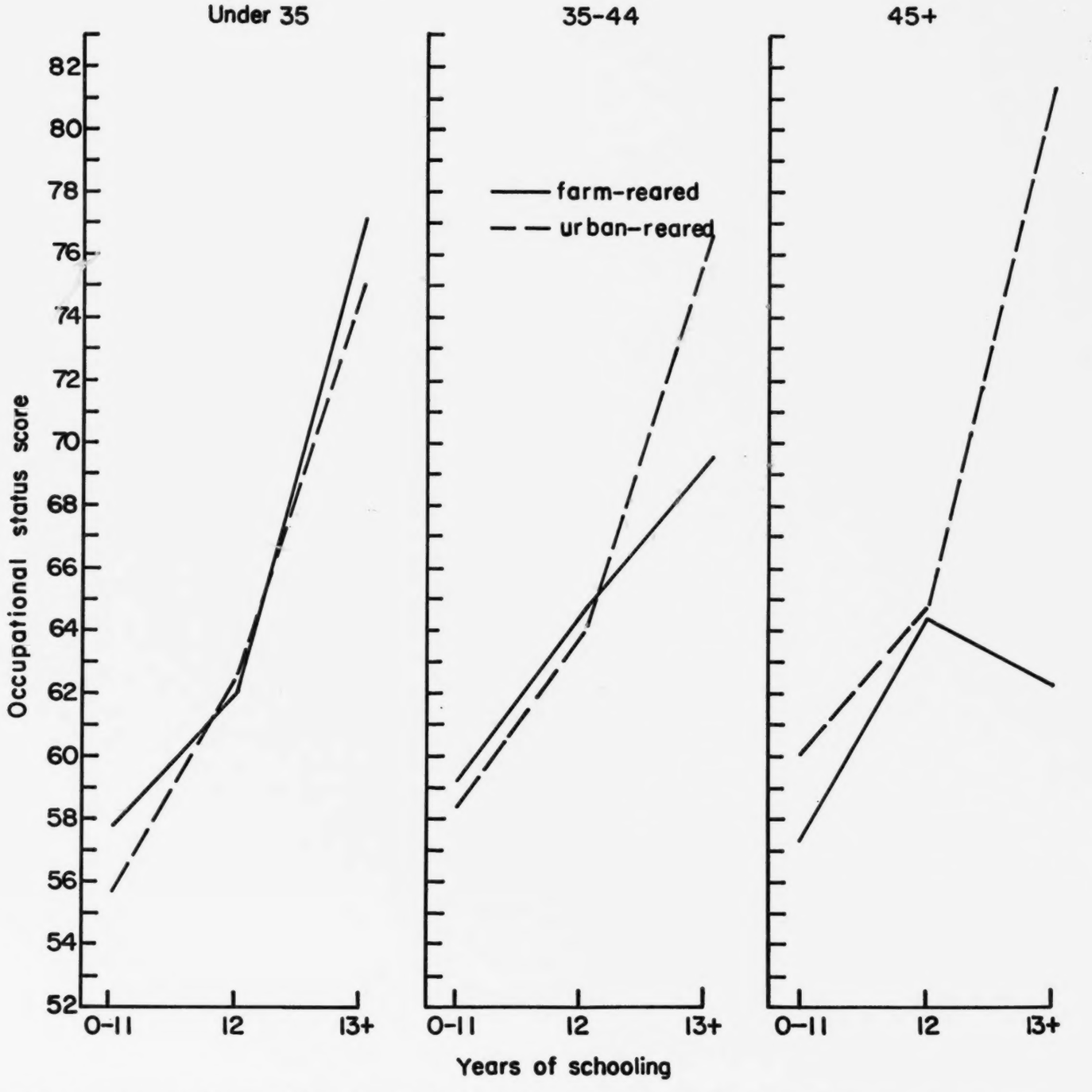

Fig. 4. Mean occupational status of farm migrant husbands with farm-reared wives and farm migrant husbands with urban-reared wives by education within age groups.

educational levels and occupational achievement, within age groups, are shown in fig. 5 for the men in the three study group samples.

Earlier research indicated that amount of time lived in the city influences the socio-economic status of migrants.[11] Although age is correlated with time lived in the city, the correlation is not perfect. Therefore, to test more specifically the relationship between time in Des Moines and occupational achievement, migrants were divided into those who had been in the city less than 10 years and those who had been there 10 or more years. Analysis of variance was then used to test the significance of education, migration experience and length of time lived in Des Moines as sources of variation in occupational status. Education was the only significant factor.

Other data obtained from respondents in the three study groups included current income, average value of the real estate in the residential neighborhood, direction of occupational mobility, job mobility in relation to parents and siblings, wife's employment, social class identification, intergenerational trends in status, and aspirations for children's education and occupation. Each of these factors reflects facets of the assimilation of migrants into urban society and the level of personal and family satisfactions generated by the process. Each suggested an operational hypothesis for testing the general hypothesis that there are no differences between groups with differing socialization experience in adjustment to the status systems of an urban place.

Family Income[12]

Family income was highly correlated with occupational status: $r = 0.51$ for combined data for

[11] Beers and Heflin found that migrants who had lived in Lexington 10 years or more were more likely to have owned the homes they lived in than those who had lived there less than 10 years. Howard W. Beers and Catherine Heflin, op. cit.

[12] For this analysis, family income was defined as all income available for family use regardless of source.

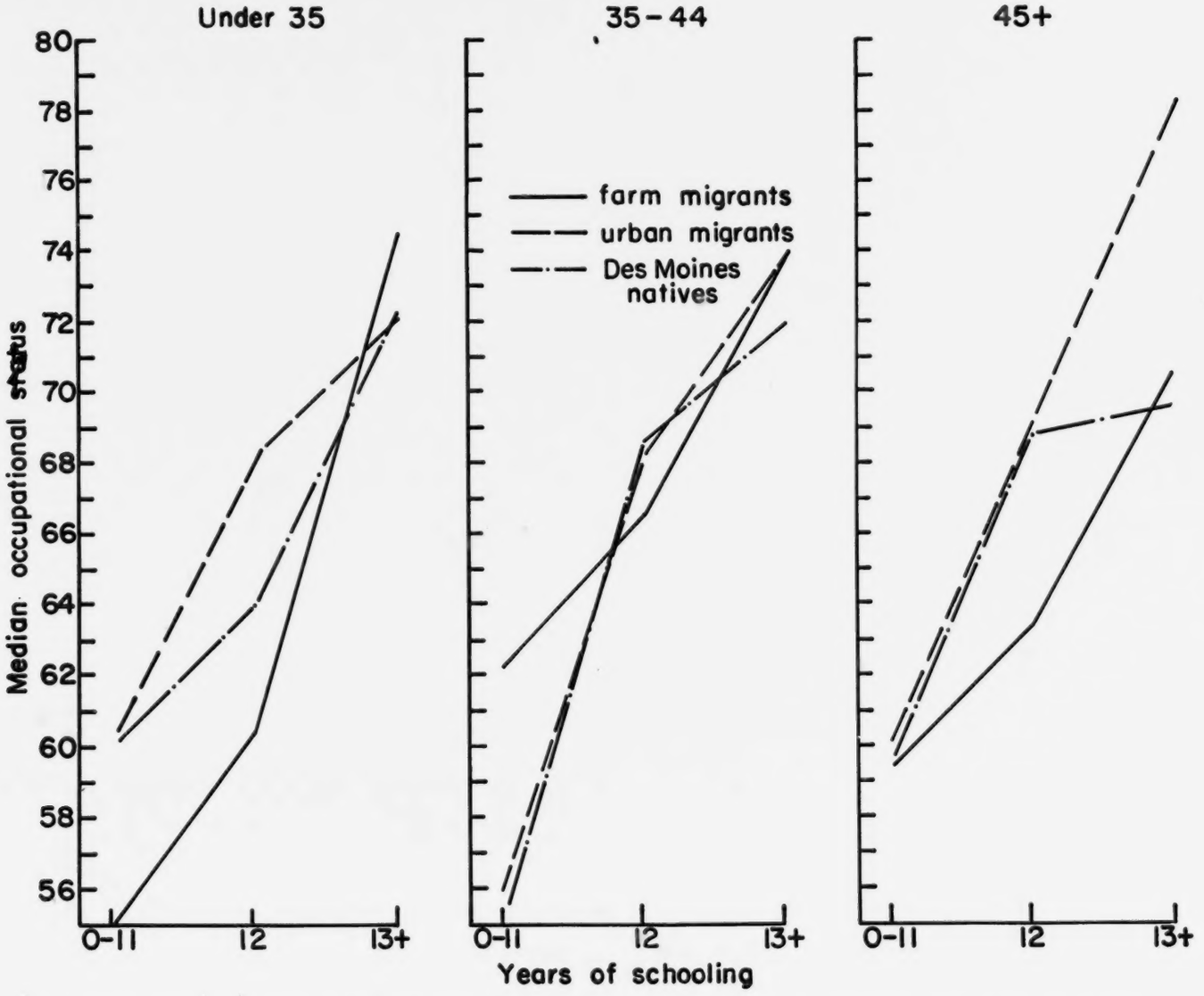

Fig. 5 Median occupational status of farm and urban migrants and Des Moines natives by educational level within age groups.

the three study groups. Correlation coefficients varied, however, among migrant groups: $r = 0.54$ for the urban migrants and $r = 0.43$ for farm migrants. Factors other than occupational status were relatively more important in explaining difference in income levels of farm migrants than of urban migrants. To test whether incomes of farm migrants were significantly different from incomes of urban migrants or urban natives, median incomes were computed for 27 groups of respondents, nine for each of the three migration types, based on the trichotomies of age and education.

Median family income of urban migrants was highest ($7,360), followed by those who had always lived in Des Moines ($6,400), and the median for farm migrants was lowest ($6,220). Analysis of variance indicated, however, that residence during the period of socialization was not a significant factor in explaining these differences. Instead, as with occupational achievement, income level was associated with level of education and with age, with education again being the more important. Although median incomes increase with age, incomes increase more with education in all three migrant types.

The number of cases in each age-education group was too small to justify final conclusions, but trend lines suggest that education is of greater importance in determining income in the older age group than in the younger age group (see fig. 6). Median income of urban migrants 45 years

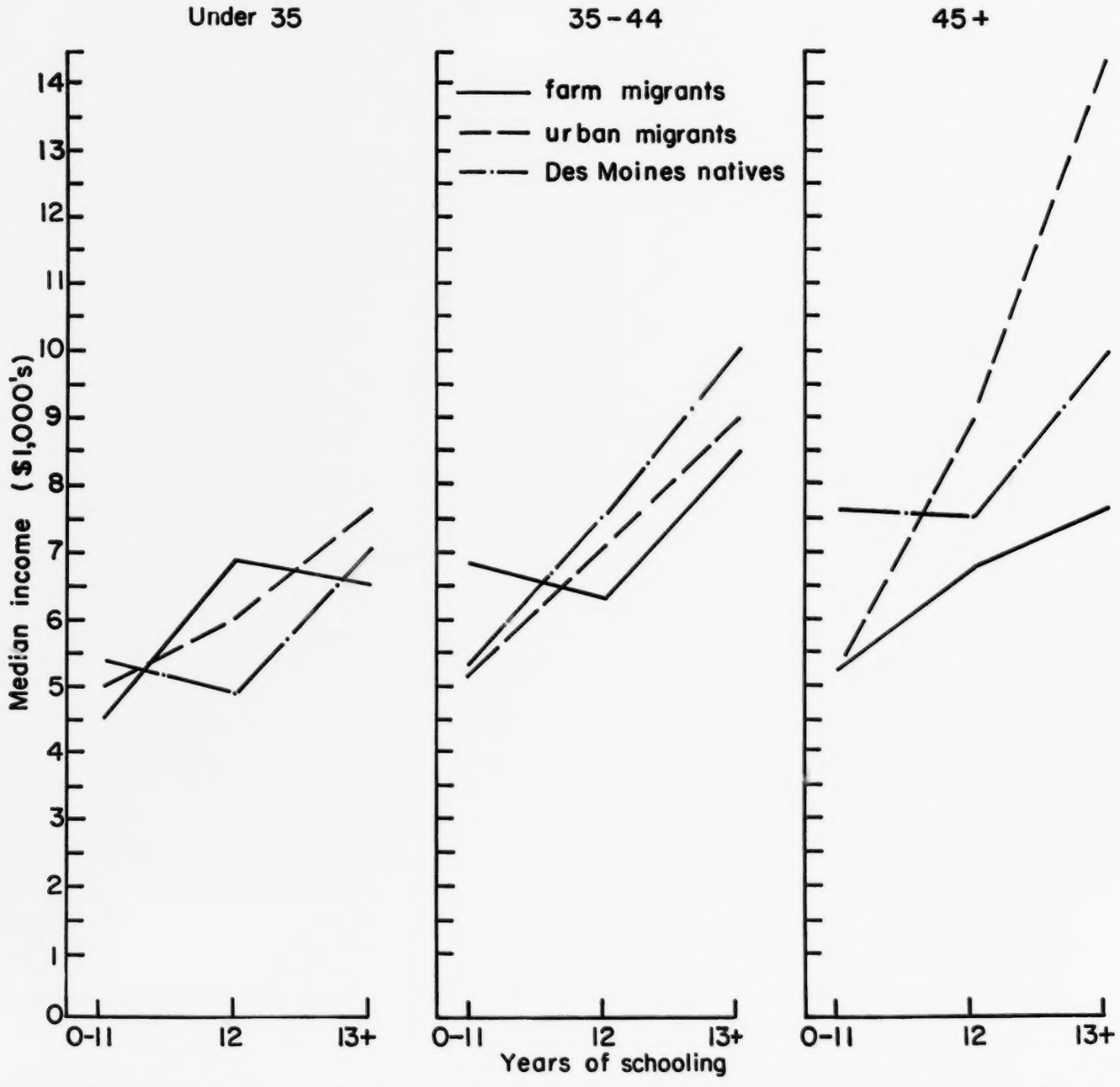

Fig. 6. Median income of farm and urban migrant and Des Moines native families by education of husbands within age groups of husband.

and older with some college training was double the median of farm migrants of the same age and education. This finding adds further support to the trend observed in fig. 5 that men with urban backgrounds fare much better in the competition for top positions in the later stages of their careers than do men with rural backgrounds. Not only do the urban migrants tend to have higher status jobs but their incomes are substantially higher. While farm background does not depress income opportunity levels significantly in the early and middle career years if education is held constant, the background experiences of the urban migrant give him an advantage in the home stretch of the race for high income.

Differences in incomes may reflect differences in occupational status. To determine what part of the variation in income was due to variation in occupational status, the data were re-analyzed with a control on occupational status. Occupational status was trichotomized as below 64, 64 to 69, and above 69, as based on North-Hatt ratings. Relationships between income and occupational status with age controlled, shown in fig. 7, suggest that urban migrants receive higher pay than farm migrants for jobs of the same status or have more non-job sources of income, or both. Also, it appears that occupational level is a better predictor of income level in the older age groups than in the younger age groups.

Analysis of variance showed that age, occupational status and socialization experience all were significant sources of variation in family income. Also there were significant interactions between age and occupational status and between socialization experience and occupational status.

Average Value of Real Estate in the Residential Neighborhood

The average value of real estate, based on Census block data, was used as another measure of status. Although the value of house lived in tends to reflect income level, very likely it also reflects social class aspirations.

Like income, real estate values for the block lived in were highest for those with the most schooling and for the older group. Both age and education were significant sources of variation in real estate values, but, of the two, education was more important. Community of orientation was not a statistically significant factor. Figure 8 indicates, however, that the home community of respondents during the period of socialization had more influence on the kind of neighborhood cur-

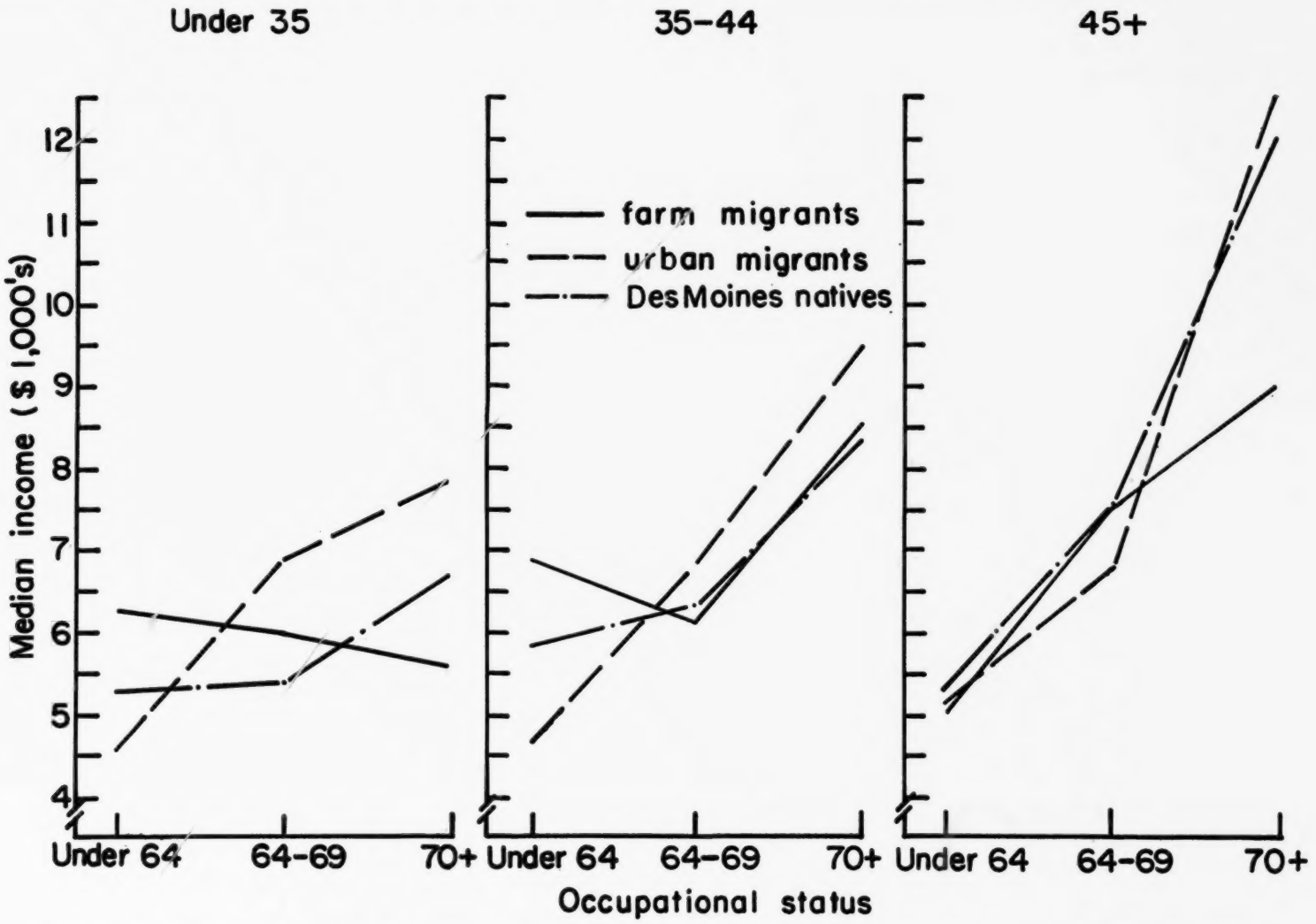

Fig. 7. Median income of farm and urban migrant and Des Moines native families by occupational status of husband within age groups of husbands.

rently lived in for those with more schooling and for those in the older age groups than for the other educational and age groups.

Job Mobility

Differences in current occupational status could arise from differences in the status level of initial job, from differences in amount and direction of job mobility or from both. Differences in current occupational status between farm migrants, urban migrants and natives in this sample were largely associated with the lower status of the first jobs held by farm migrants. The median North-Hatt level of the first job held in Des Moines was 61 for farm migrants, compared with 69 for urban migrants and 62 for natives.

Education was important in determining the status of the husband's first job in Des Moines. Status scores of first Des Moines jobs of men having 8 or less years of schooling were from 12 to 16 points lower than those for men with a college degree. In all educational levels except one (9 to 11 years), urban migrants started at substantially higher status positions than farm migrants or natives (fig. 9).

On the average, men in both migrant groups improved their occupational status with succeeding jobs. Nevertheless, median differences between rank of first job and current job were small, 0.8 point for urban migrants, 1.7 for farm migrants and 3.8 points for natives. Greater average upward mobility among native men is partly an artifact of sample characteristics. Over half of the migrants had started their work careers elsewhere than in Des Moines and, thus, their first Des Moines jobs represent a later point in their careers.

By assigning North-Hatt scores to each job held, it was possible to identify patterns of job mobility experienced among men since marriage. Five categories were identified: (1) those who consistently improved job status, (2) those who had moved up and down but whose general movement was up, (3) those who had moved up and down but ended on a level comparable to their first position as well as those who had not

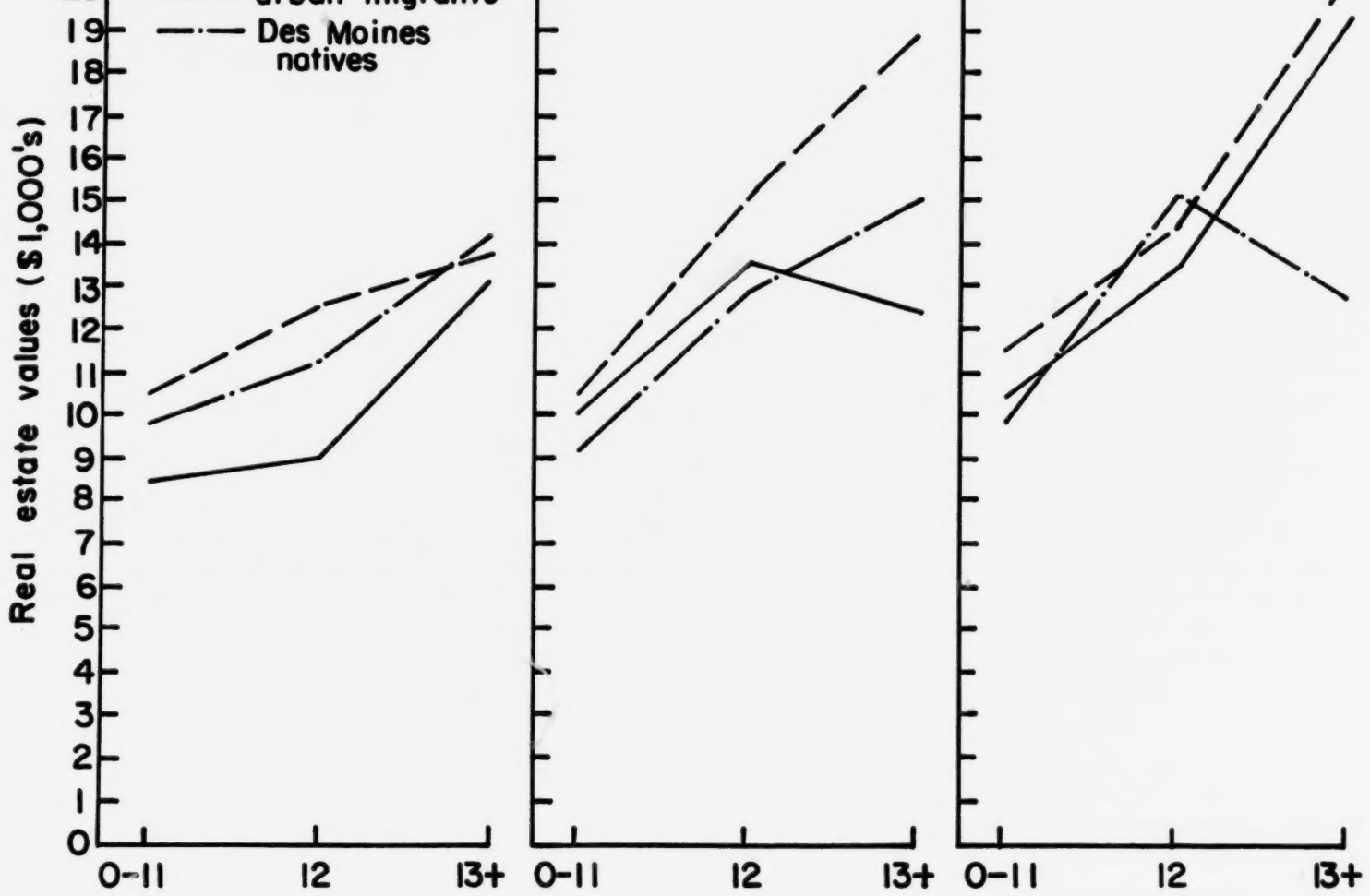

Fig. 8. Median real estate values in residential block of farm and urban migrant and Des Moines native families by husbands' educational level within age groups.

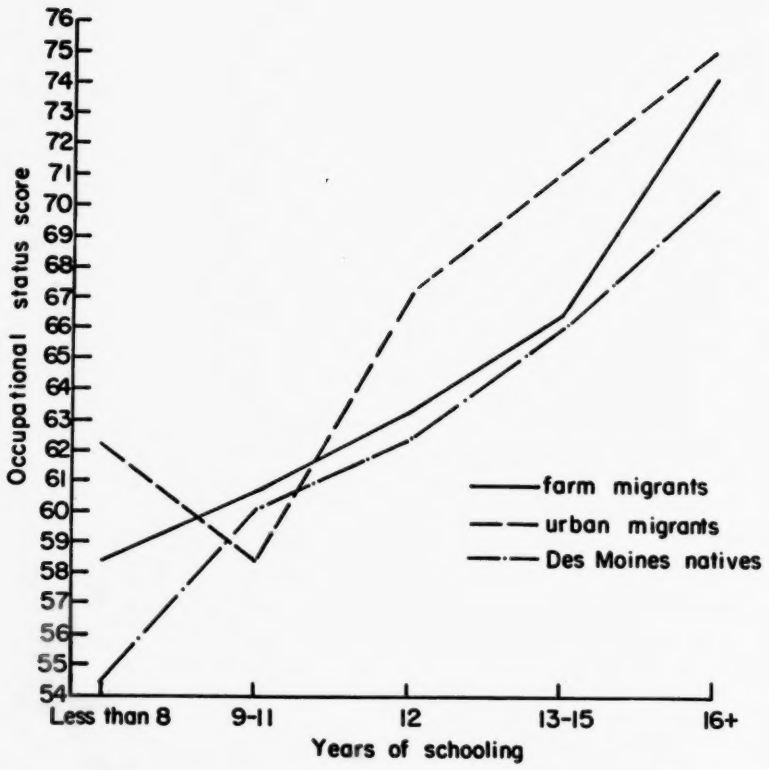

Fig. 9. Occupational status of first Des Moines job held by farm and urban migrant and Des Moines native husbands by level of education.

changed levels, (4) those who moved up and down but generally down, and (5) those who had consistently moved downward in status.

A majority (53 percent) had enjoyed some upward mobility since marriage. Further analysis, however, showed that variations in proportions of men in each mobility category were not significantly related to any of the three factors tested —age, education or community of orientation.

Intergenerational Variations in Occupational Status

Another measure of occupational mobility is the difference between the status of one's own job and that of one's father. Intergenerational comparison of occupational status, however, is limited by the comparability of status hierarchies of jobs over time. In this study comparisons of farm and nonfarm jobs presented an added difficulty. Variations in tenure and size of operations and regional evaluations of the status of farming as an occupation greatly limit farm-nonfarm comparisons for measuring occupational mobility. Yet examination of intergenerational occupational mobility was important. Because data obtained on occupations of fathers did not indicate their farm tenure, two separate comparisons were made for farmers. First, the rating for owner-operators (76) was used for all fathers of farm migrants. Then the analysis was repeated using the rating for tenant operators (67).

Comparisons of the median occupational status of fathers at the time the informants were of high school age with the median current occupational status of the informants in a comparable age bracket (35 to 44) showed a small intergenerational upward movement in status for the urban migrant and the urban native groups (table 6). For farm migrants downward trends were found regardless of which rating was used for farm operator.

Table 6. Occupational status of fathers of informants compared with occupational status of informants.

	Farm migrants	Urban migrants	Des Moines natives
Median occupational status of father at time informant was in high school, age 14-18	67.4 (76.4)[a]	67.9	65.1
Median occupational status of informants 35-44 years of age	66.0	70.7	66.2

[a] The first figure represents the median when the score for tenant farmer (67) was used, and the second figure represents the median when the score for owner-operator (76) was used in computing median occupational status of the fathers.

Occupational Status of Brothers

Not all respondents had living brothers, but for those who did (87 percent of the farm migrants, 62 percent of the urban migrants and 78 percent of the natives) it was possible to compare occupational status among siblings. To control the effects of age differences, brothers were divided into two groups, those younger as contrasted to those older than the informants. Ratings were assigned to the occupations of brothers in the same manner as the occupations of the informants. Farm occupations were coded with both the high and the low ratings. Regardless of which rating was used, however, larger proportions of farm migrants than urban migrants to Des Moines had lower status jobs than their older brothers. In the comparison with younger brothers, about as many farm migrants had higher or lower status jobs while substantially larger proportions of urban migrants and natives had higher status jobs than their younger brothers.

Analysis of variance indicated that education as well as community backgrounds of informants influenced differences in job status relative to brothers. Figure 10 illustrates the importance of both education and community of orientation in influencing the percentage of older or younger brothers with lower occupational status than informants.

Farm-reared men in urban jobs lost status relative to their fathers and to their brothers who were farm operators. The median ranking of the farm migrants' first Des Moines job was only 61, which is substantially below the ranking for farm tenants, 67. Furthermore, even at the peak of their work careers in the city, farm migrants did not, as a group, exceed the tenant farm-operator ranking.

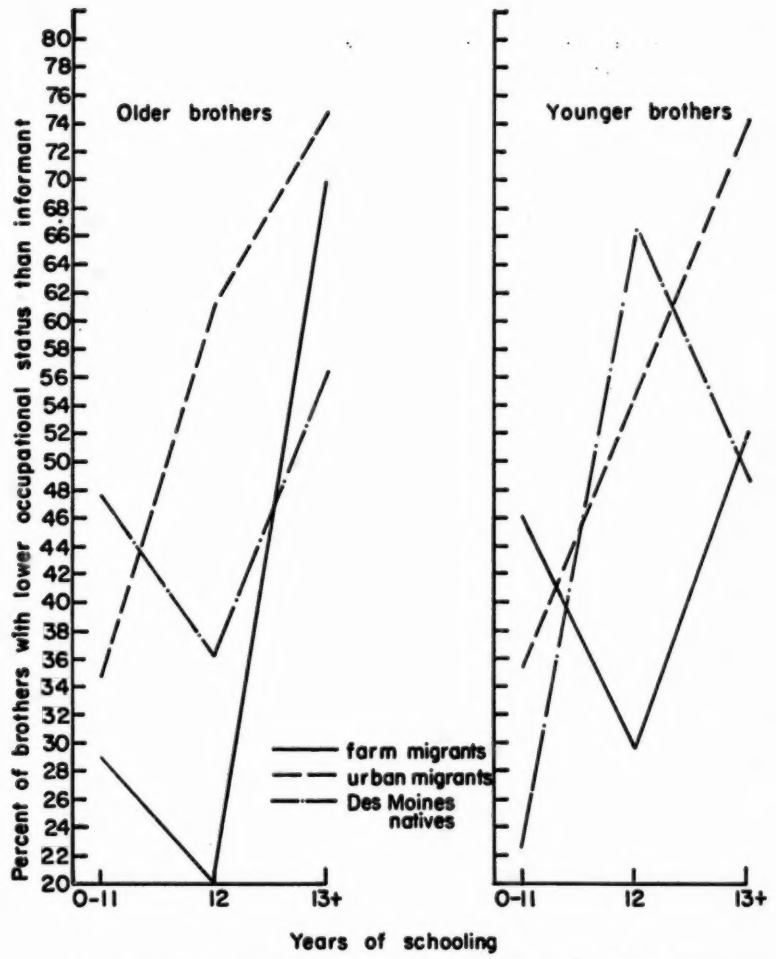

Fig. 10. Percent of older and younger brothers with lower occupational status than the informant by educational level of informant for farm and urban migrants and Des Moines natives.

Employment of Wives

In the past few decades the number of married women in the labor force has increased dramatically, but more so in urban than in rural areas. Because of the likelihood of lower labor force participation of women in their former communities, are farm-migrant wives now living in a city less likely to enter the labor force than urban-migrant or urban-native wives?

Based on the present study, the answer is no. The proportions reporting employment since marriage were similar for all groups, 84 percent for farm-migrant wives and 86 percent for urban-migrant and native wives. Farm-migrant wives had worked more years since marriage, on the average, but they were also older and had been married longer. The proportions of years worked since marriage were similar among the three groups: 25.0 percent for farm-migrant wives, 24.4 percent for natives and 28.6 percent for urban-migrant wives.

Most wives (79 percent) had worked before their marriages. About half worked during the period between marriage and the birth of their first child, more than a third worked while they had a preschool child in the home, and one-fourth continued to work when they had school-age children. In no case did the proportions for each of the three study groups vary significantly (table 7).

Nearly half (49 percent) of the farm-migrant wives worked during the year preceding the interviews, compared with 43 percent of the natives and 37 percent of the urban migrants. The status level of their jobs was closely related to that of their husbands.

Table 7. Employment records of farm and urban migrant and Des Moines native wives.

Employment record	Farm migrants	Urban migrants	Des Moines natives
Percent that have worked since marriage	84	86	86
Percent that worked before marriage	78	80	79
Percent that worked between marriage and first child	48	54	47
Percent that worked when had a preschool-age child in home	30	36	38
Percent that worked when had school-age child in home	30	24	29
Percent that worked during the year preceding interview	49	37	43
Percent of years worked since marriage	25.0	28.6	24.4

Social Status Identification

Respondents also were asked to identify their own social class position and those of their families of orientation on a four-point class scale—lower class, working class, middle class and upper class.

Almost no one identified with the lower class. Middle class was the modal choice for all three groups, but the proportions identifying with the working class and with the upper class varied considerably (table 8). Farm migrants were more inclined to identify with the working class than were urban migrants, whereas urban migrants were more inclined to identify with the upper class than were farm migrants. Less than 1 percent of the Des Moines natives identified with the upper class, but also fewer Des Moines

Table 8. Social class identification of farm migrant, urban migrant and native Des Moines families.

Social class	Farm migrants (N=163)	Urban migrants (N=142)	Des Moines natives (N=141)
Lower class	0.0	0.0	0.7
Working class	40.0	19.0	34.8
Middle class	55.2	72.5	63.8
Upper class	4.9	8.5	0.7
Total	100.1	100.0	100.0
$X^2 = 23.83$ df 4[a] $P > 0.001$			

[a] Data for "lower class" and "working class" were combined in chi-square computations.

natives than farm migrants identified with the working class (35 percent).

Social class identification was correlated with level of education for all three groups: r=0.40 for urban migrants, r=0.32 for natives and r=0.18 for farm migrants. Analysis of variance revealed that, of three sources of variance—age, socialization experience and educational level—educational level was the only one of any significance in explaining differences in social class identification (fig. 11).

As would be expected, social class identification also was correlated with occupational status (r=0.40). The coefficient was higher for urban migrants (r=0.50) than for farm migrants or natives (r=0.32).

Intergenerational Changes in Social Status

Comparisons between the social class identifications that informants made for their own families of procreation and those given for their families of orientation provided a subjective measure of intergenerational change in social status.

Intergenerational change in status scores were assigned as follows: 0, if the informant's family rating was 3 points (3 classes) lower than their family of orientation; 1, if the informant's family rating was 2 points lower; 2, if the informant's family rating was 1 point lower; 3, if the informant's family rating was the same as his family of orientation; 4, if the informant's family rating was 1 point higher; 5, if the informant's family rating was 2 points higher; and 6, if the informant's family rating was 3 points higher than his family of orientation.

The majority of families in each group identified with the same social class as that of their parents (table 9); still, the median intergenerational status mobility scores indicated a slight upward trend.

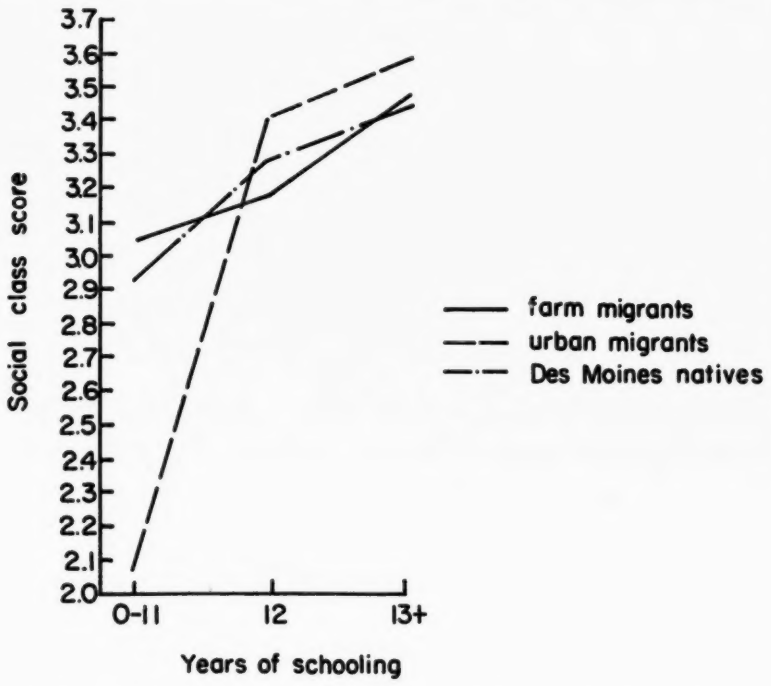

Fig. 11. Median social class identification of farm and urban migrant and Des Moines native families by educational level of the husbands.

Table 9. Proportions of informant families in same, higher or lower social class compared with social class of parents of each spouse.

Parental family	Relative class position	Farm migrants	Urban migrants	Des Moines natives
Husband's	Same	83.1	77.5	82.3
	Higher	10.6	16.2	10.6
	Lower	6.3	6.3	7.1
Wife's	Same	81.0	75.4	88.7
	Higher	11.0	10.6	6.4
	Lower	8.0	14.0	4.9

Differences between the migrant and native groups in intergenerational mobility were nonsignificant. Slightly larger proportions of respondents with college education felt that they had achieved upward intergenerational mobility, but the differences were not statistically significant.

Parents' Aspirations for Their Children

Parents in the farm-migrant sample were less well educated than other parents, and a greater proportion of husbands in the farm-migrant sample was in low-status occupations. The lower levels of educational and occupational achievement among the farm-reared men probably reflect value and normative characteristics that still differentiate rural and urban social systems. Some research indicates that farm parents have lower educational aspirations and probably lower or less crystallized occupational aspirations for their children than do nonfarm parents.[13]

The fact that they lived in rural areas during their early formative years suggests that the farm-reared parents now living in urban areas may have lower educational and occupational aspirations for their children than do other parents. Most of the parents in the farm-migrant sample used in the present study, however, had considerable opportunity to become familiar with urban norms for educational and occupational aspirations for children. Therefore, it could be argued that null differences would prevail among educational and occupational aspirations for children held by parents in the three samples. Results for this hypothesis are presented shortly. Also, the educational and occupational achievement and migration patterns of children who have left home were compared. When data on occupational achievement of mature children were put together with information for the respondents' occupations and the occupations of their fathers, a review of the occupations held by men across three generations—grandfathers, fathers and sons who

[13] See: Lee G. Burchinal, with A. O. Haller and Marvin J. Taves. Career choices of rural youth in a changing society. Minn. Agr. Exp. Sta. Bul. 458. (North Central Regional Res. Pub. 142) 1962; and Lee G. Burchinal and James D. Cowhig. Rural youth in an urban society. Children 10:167-172. Sept.-Oct. 1963.

had left home—was possible. It also was possible to view educational attainment across several generations.

Intergenerational Changes in Educational Attainment

Proportions with any post-high school education among fathers and among sons who had left home are reported in fig. 12 for each study group. Parents' educational aspirations for younger sons still at home also are shown.[14] All percentages were converted by arc sin transformation, and the resulting data were analyzed by analysis of variance. Variations in educational attainment associated with the two main variables, migration experience and generations, as well as the interaction of these two variables were significant. In fig. 12, the fact that the curves for urban migrant and Des Moines native families crossed at both ends indicates that interaction occurred. Educational attainment levels and educational aspiration levels of farm-migrant families were consistently lower than those of urban-migrant and native families.

With the exception of the families in the urban-migrant sample, the percentages of older sons having any post-high school education exceeded the comparable percentages for fathers. And, in all three samples, educational aspirations for sons still at home were considerably above the attainment of sons who already had left home.

Occupational Aspirations for Sons and Trends in Occupational Achievement Across Three Generations

We already have noted that differences between occupational status levels between two generations, the informants and their fathers, were small. By adding data for occupation of sons who already had matured and for occupational aspirations for sons still at home, the comparison was extended to a third generation. Analysis of variance was used to test for the independent and joint effects of the two variables, generations and migration experience, upon the relative occupational achievement level of grandfathers, fathers, and sons who left home and upon the parents' occupational aspirations for sons still at home. The error term was based on an estimate of within-class variation derived from comparisons between split-half samples. Figure 13 presents the occupational achievement curves by "odd" and "even" samples. These analyses ignore difficult and, ultimately, uncontrollable problems of differences in career development and occupational opportunities among the males included in the migration and generational samples.

[14] Sons who had left home included 75 in the farm-migrant sample, 22 in the urban-migrant sample and 29 in the Des Moines native sample. Farm-migrant families still had 86 sons at home, urban-migrant families had 85 sons at home, and the Des Moines native families still had 115 sons at home.

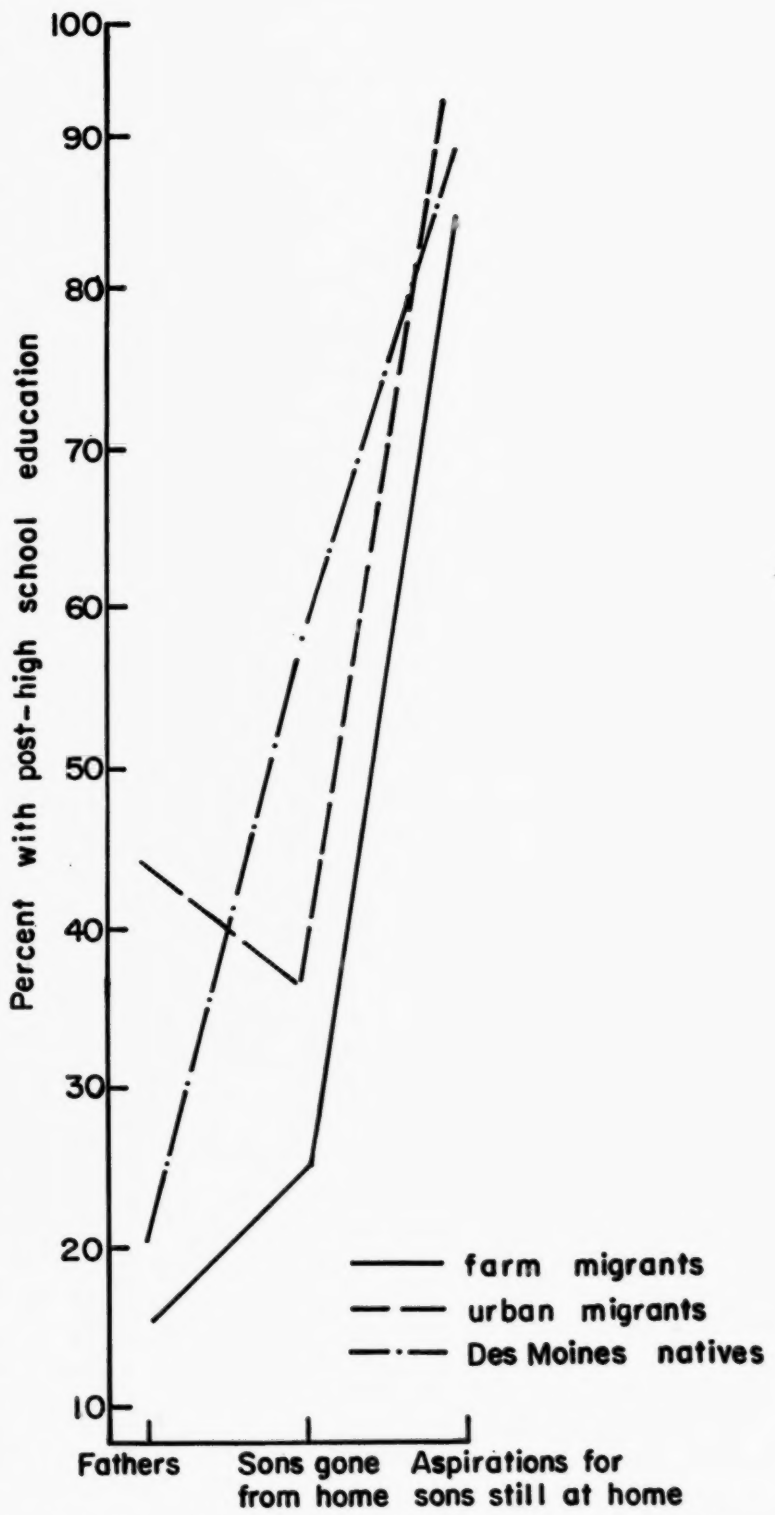

Fig. 12. Percentages of fathers and sons gone from home having any post-high school education and percentages of parents having college aspirations for sons still at home by the migration experience of the fathers.

The bulk of the variance in occupational achievement and occupational aspirations was accounted for by intergenerational trends in occupation, with significant interaction occurring between migration experience and intergenerational trends. Migration experience, per se, was not a significant source of variation.

The statistical significance of the interaction term probably resulted from the decision to code all farm operators as 76, the North-Hatt score for farm owner-operator. If the score for farm renter (67) had been used, the interaction term might

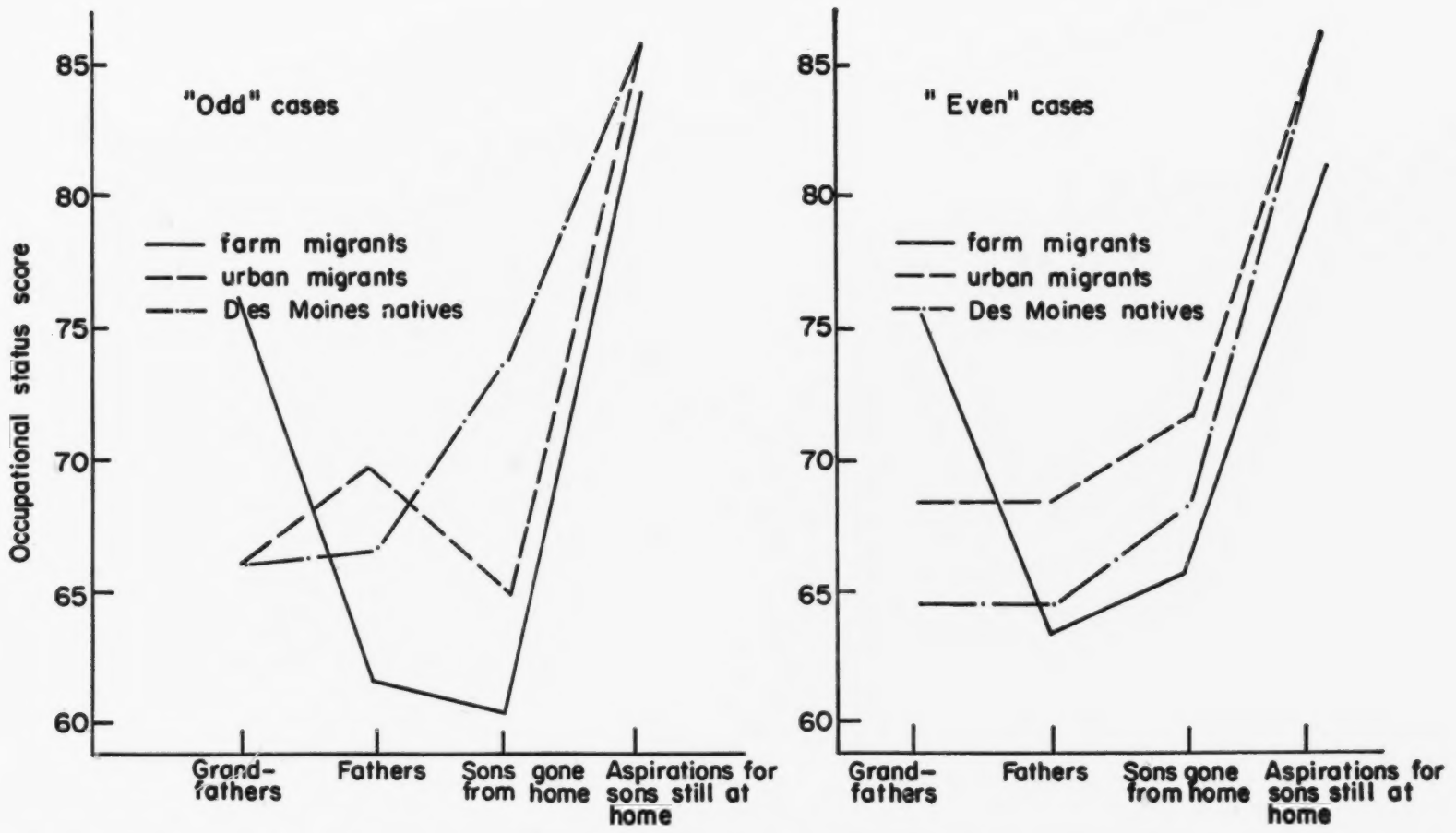

Fig. 13. Median occupational status scores of grandfathers, fathers and sons who have left home and median occupational status scores of occupations parents aspired to for their sons by split-half samples and the migration experiences of fathers.

not have been statistically significant, but the median score for grandfathers in fig. 13 would still have been higher than the median scores for farm-migrant fathers. For this reason the data in fig. 13 were re-analyzed using only fathers and the two categories of sons.

Limiting the analyses to fathers and sons produced a nonsignificant result in place of the earlier significant interaction effect between migration type and intergenerational mobility, a significant result in place of the nonsignificant effect associated with migration experience, and left the effect associated with generational changes the same—still highly significant. Median occupational levels aspired to for young sons at home were uniformly high and very likely unrealistic. Scores at this level include scientific and professional occupations for which several years of post-graduate and professional schooling are required. Either parents were overly ambitious for their sons or gave what they felt were socially acceptable responses to the aspiration questions. The discrepancies between occupational status of sons who have left home and aspirations for sons at home suggest that it was the latter. Nevertheless, farm-migrant fathers and their sons consistently had the lowest median level of occupational status, and the median occupational aspirations for sons still at home was also lowest in the farm-migrant sample.

These data suggest the possible persistence of lower educational or occupational achievement norms among the parents in the farm-migrant sample. Therefore, the educational attainment of children who had left home was re-examined.

Educational Attainment of Children Who Have Left Home

Grown children whose fathers had farm backgrounds were the most poorly educated; those whose fathers always had lived in Des Moines were the best educated; and those whose fathers were urban-reared migrants were intermediate. Patterns of educational attainment by migration experience of fathers were similar for both sexes.

As shown in fig. 14, the educational levels of children gone from home were re-analyzed with a control on the occupational status of fathers. Occupational status of fathers was trichotomized as below 64, 64-69, and above 69. In all three groups, educational level of the children was related directly to the occupational status levels of their fathers. Within all three status levels, children whose parents had always lived in Des Moines had the highest median levels of education. At the low status level, the median for the children from farm-migrant homes exceeded that for urban-migrant children, but at the high status level, children from the farm-migrant families had the lowest median education.

Analyses of the occupational achievement of children in relation to the migration experience

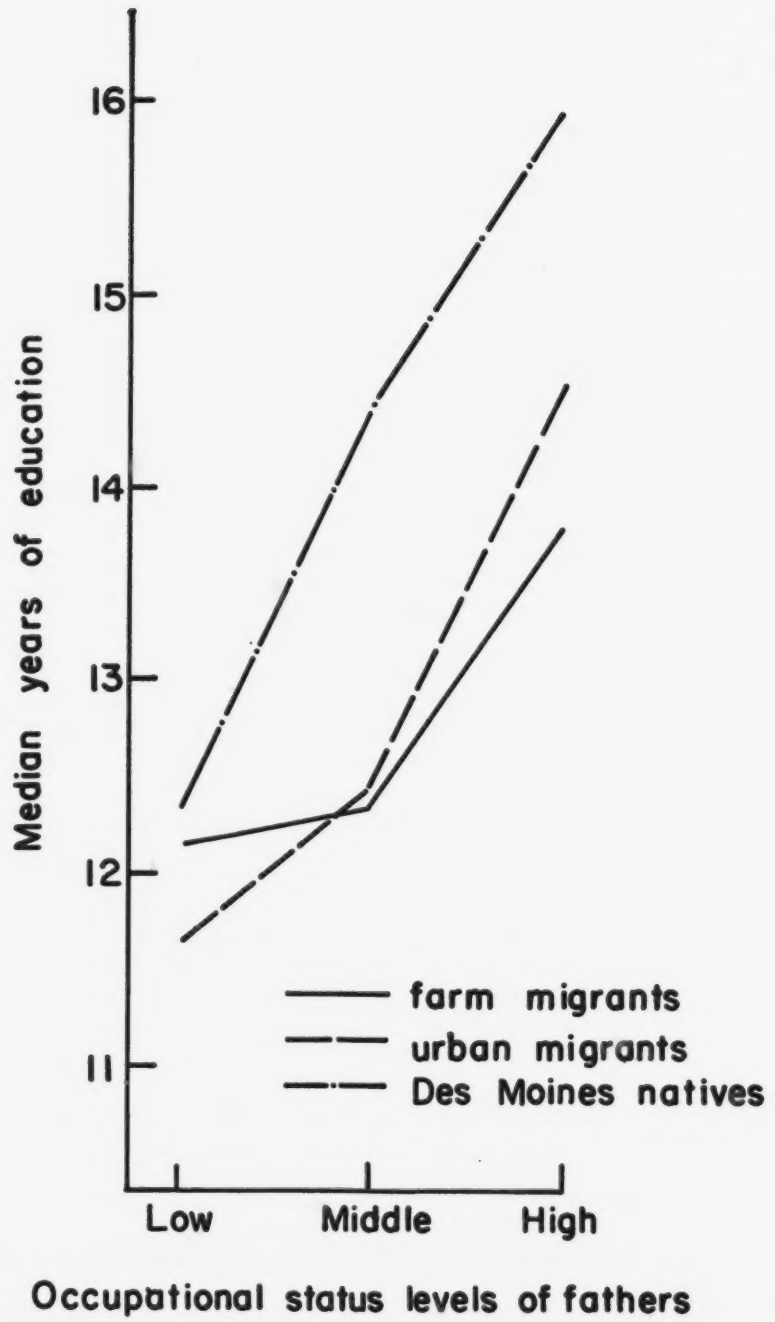

Fig. 14. Median years of education of children away from home by fathers' occupational status scores and their migration experiences.

and the occupational status of their fathers could not be undertaken because such analyses should require a control for sex. When sex was controlled, the subclass numbers for seven of the nine cells for classifications based on migration, sex and status of fathers ranged between 9 and 16 cases. These numbers are too small to permit reliable comparisons among medians.

Educational Aspirations for Sons Still at Home

Two sets of data for educational aspirations were used: (1) percent of children whose parents had college aspirations for them; and (2) percent who had any post-high school education aspirations for their children. Analysis of variance results based on the arc sin transformations of these percentages showed that in both sets of analyses, aspiration levels were not significantly associated with migration experience but were significantly and positively related to the occupational levels of fathers (fig. 15).

Residence of Children Gone From Home

The mature children of urban-migrant parents were also the most mobile. Two-thirds had moved to residences beyond Des Moines, Polk County and the adjacent counties, compared with two-fifths of the children of farm-migrant parents and only a little more than one-third of the children of natives. In all three groups, mobility of children was directly related to fathers' occupational status and to the children's educational level (table 10).

COMMUNITY RELATIONSHIPS

Migrants to the city often must adjust to many new or different relationships and experiences other than those involved in their occupational roles. These include membership and participation in formal associations, religious affiliation, ideas and feelings about the city and the way it has affected their families, sources of advice, visiting and neighboring.

Social Participation

The second general hypothesis used to guide the present research is that farm-migrant couples, in comparison with others, are equally well assimilated into the social systems of the city.

Three operational hypotheses, based on this general hypothesis, are tested with the three sets of data presented in table 11: social participation scores of husbands, of wives, and of couples; visiting patterns with nonrelated families; and neighboring scores. Because occupational status is a major determinant of many forms of social participation, the husband's occupational status level was used as a control in these analyses. For each set of data, the operational hypothesis was that farm-migrant spouses or couples are not different from the other spouses or couples of similar status.

Social participation scores for husbands and for wives were developed from weights assigned for membership and degree of participation in a wide variety of formal organizations. These organizations are included in the five broad types shown in table 11. Median scores are shown for each of three occupational status levels in each of the three study groups and for the total sample in each study group.

Little variation occurred among the median social participation scores of the three categories of husbands or wives in each of the three status levels. As a consquence, the three sets of total scores for husbands or wives in the two migrant and one native categories also were similar.

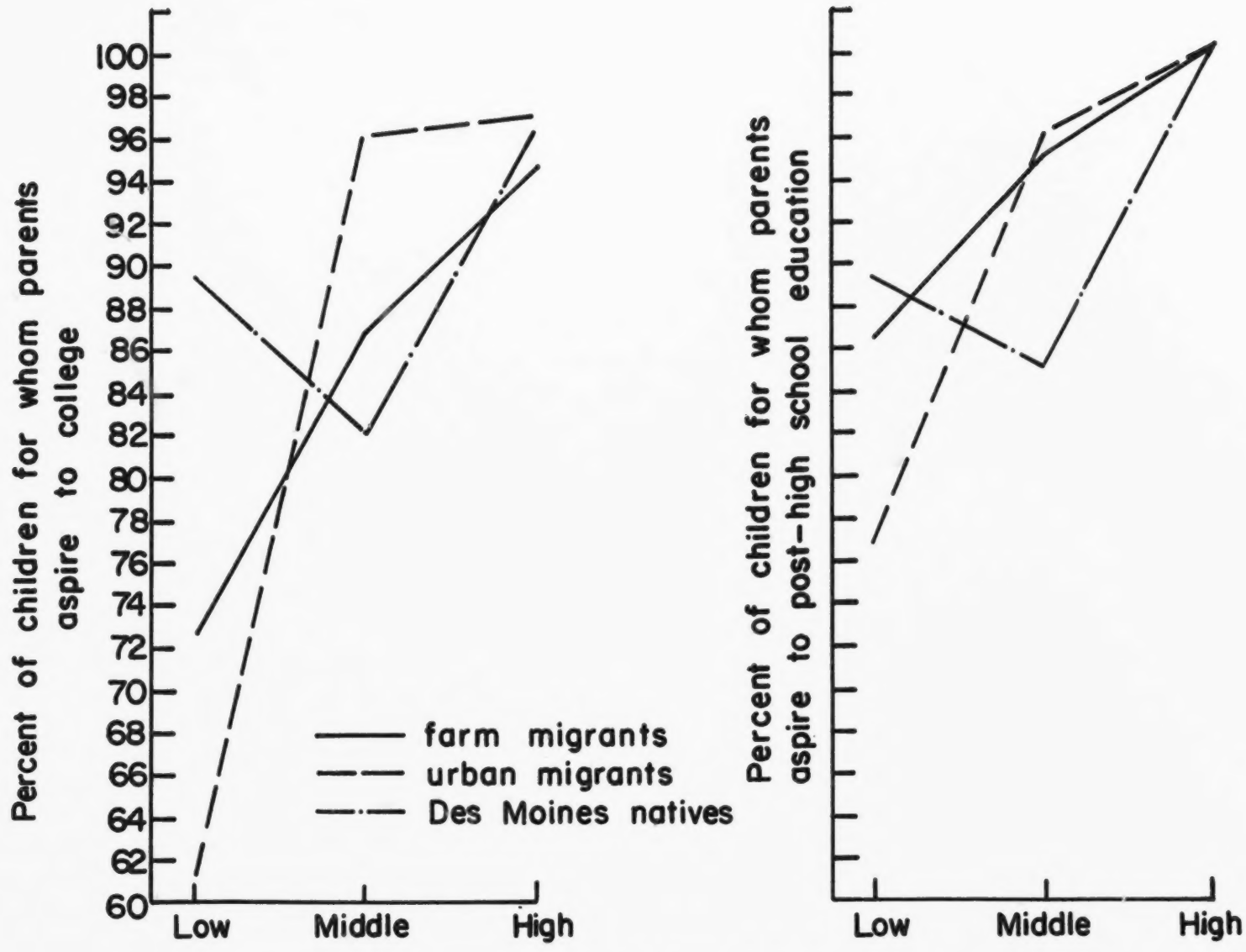

Fig. 15. Percent of children for whom parents aspired to college and percent of children for whom parents aspired to any schooling beyond high school by occupational status of the father for farm migrants, urban migrants and Des Moines natives.

In both migrant samples and in the native sample, the customary direct relationship between occupational status of husbands and the social participation of husbands or wives was observed. This relationship is shown graphically in fig. 16 for the number of organizations to which husbands and wives belonged and in fig. 17 for the combined social participation scores of husbands and wives. In both cases, positive relationships between occupational status of husbands and the social participation measures are clear and pronounced.[15]

These figures also show that at the low and middle status levels, the over-all social participation scores of couples in the three samples were similar and that the principal divergence occurred at the high status level. High status couples who always lived in Des Moines had lowest scores, whereas scores for the other two samples differed only slightly and in a different way in figs. 16 and 17. Clearly, there was no support for the

Table 10. Number and percentages of the children who have left home who were living in Des Moines, Polk County, or in adjacent counties by the migration experience and occupational status levels of their fathers and the educational levels of the children.

Control variable	Migration experience of fathers					
	Farm migrants		Urban migrants		Des Moines natives	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Occupational status of fathers						
Low	106	65.2	14	50.0	16	87.5
Middle	32	56.3	16	43.8	19	57.9
High	12	33.3	13	7.7	18	50.0
Total	150	60.6	43	34.9	53	64.2
Years of education of the children						
11 or less	48	70.8	11	36.4	5	80.0
12	72	61.1	19	36.8	23	82.6
13 or more	29	41.4	13	30.8	25	44.0
Total	149	60.0	43	34.9	53	64.2

[15] Correlations were determined for the relationships between the husbands' occupational status scores and separate and total social participation scores of husbands and wives as well as for their combined total social participation scores. For the relationships involving the combined total scores, correlations were 0.40 for both the farm-migrant and Des Moines-native samples and 0.46 for the urban-migrant sample. Mean correlations between the status variable and the separate and total social participation scores of husbands and wives in the three samples were 0.23 (farm migrant) and 0.22 for the other two samples.

Table 11. Median social participation scores for husbands, wives and couples by the occupational status of husbands and migration types.

Social participation variables	Occupational status of husbands											
	Farm migrants				Urban migrants				Des Moines natives			
	Low	Middle	High	Total	Low	Middle	High	Total	Low	Middle	High	Total
N	89	44	31	164	34	42	69	145	59	45	40	144
Husbands' social participation scores												
Religious	2.1	3.3	4.0	3.6	3.1	3.4	3.6	3.7	1.4	3.5	3.6	3.7
Educational	0.6	0.6	1.0	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.9	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7
Occupational	0.9	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.7	0.7	1.8	0.8	0.9	0.8	0.9	0.8
Civic-service	0.5	0.6	0.8	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5
Social-recreational	0.6	0.8	1.5	0.7	0.8	0.7	1.0	0.8	0.7	0.9	0.9	0.8
No. organizations belonged to	2.1	2.3	3.9	2.4	1.9	2.5	3.7	2.7	2.0	2.6	3.2	2.4
Total social participation score	4.2	6.2	12.5	6.7	4.7	5.5	9.9	6.8	4.3	6.4	8.0	6.5
Political activities	3.3	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.6	3.2	3.5	3.6	3.4
Wives' social participation scores												
Religious	3.2	3.4	4.2	3.7	3.4	3.6	3.5	3.8	2.5	3.5	3.9	3.6
Educational	0.7	0.7	1.6	0.8	0.6	0.8	1.3	0.9	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.8
Occupational	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5
Civic-service	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.5	0.5	0.6	0.6	0.5
Social-recreational	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.6	0.7	0.8	0.7	0.6	0.7	0.7	0.7
No. organizations belonged to	1.7	2.0	2.7	1.9	1.7	2.1	3.4	2.5	1.6	2.2	2.6	2.0
Total social participation score	3 8	5.0	9.6	4.8	3.8	6.4	11.5	6.9	3.5	5.8	6.9	4.0
Political activities	3.2	3.5	3.4	3.4	3.4	3.5	3.6	3.5	3.2	3.5	3.6	3.4
Combined social participation for couples												
No. organizations	3.3	3.8	6.1	3.9	3.0	4.3	6.5	5.0	3.2	4 4	5.3	4.1
Social participation scores	7.8	12.0	22.5	10.7	8.0	12.0	21.5	15.5	7.5	12.1	16.0	10.4
Visits with nonrelated families												
No. with whom visited	3.6	3.9	4.4	3.9	3.6	4.2	5.9	4.6	3.6	4.2	4.2	4.0
Miles to nearest family	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.6	0.2	0.3	0.6	0.5	0.4	0.5	0.4
Miles to farthest family	5.7	7.3	5.2	6.0	4.0	5.7	7.1	5.9	4.8	4.4	5.6	5.1
Frequency of visits per month	1.8	1.9	3.2	2.7	1.9	2.6	4.3	3.6	2.6	2.7	2.8	2.8
Index of neighboring	2.6	2.9	3.0	2.8	2.6	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9	2.9
Satisfaction with living arrangements	28.0	28.2	28.2	28.1	28.1	28.0	28.1	28.1	26.1	28.2	27.2	27.1

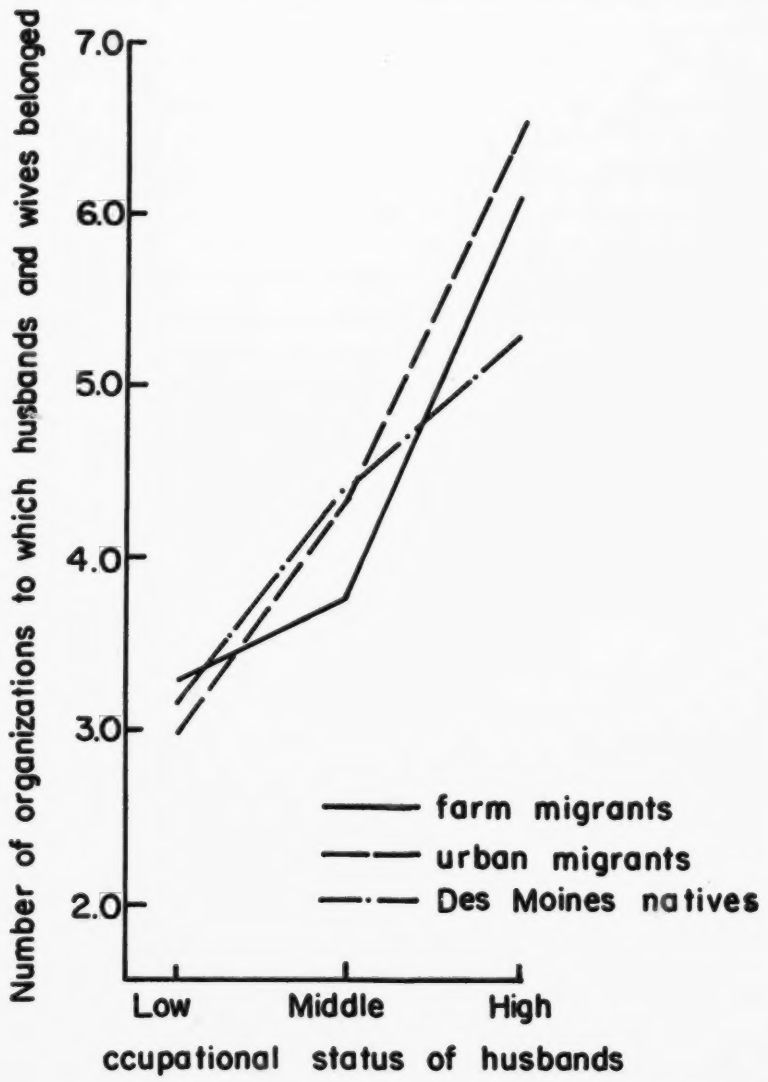

Fig. 16. Medians for combined numbers of organizations to which husbands and wives belonged by the occupational status of husbands for farm and urban migrant and Des Moines native couples.

often expressed view that farm-migrant couples, in comparison with other couples, are less actively involved in formal social organizations.

Visiting patterns with nonrelated families were similar for farm-migrant families and Des Moines native families, and both had less frequent or less active visiting patterns than urban-migrant families. Major differences did not exist among the three groups of families for distances to nearest or farthest friend-families. Again, there was clear and consistent support for the conclusion that farm-migrant families were as deeply involved in the informal social systems of Des Moines as were other families.

The neighboring index consisted of four items. These included the number of neighbors' homes visited, frequency of entertaining with neighbors, the number of names of neighbors known and the frequency of talking with neighbors. Responses to these four items formed pseudo-scales with reproducibility coefficients between 0.84 and 0.86 for the three samples.[16]

As shown in table 11, the medians for the neighboring index showed little variation in relation to either status level or migration experience. Thus, the evidence on both formal and informal social participation supports the general hypothesis that farm-migrant couples were not different from the other couples in regard to assimilation into the social systems of Des Moines.

[16] Correlations between item weights and total scores ranged from 0.64 to 0.87 for farm migrants; 0.68 to 0.85 for urban migrants; and from 0.62 to 0.90 for those who always lived in Des Moines.

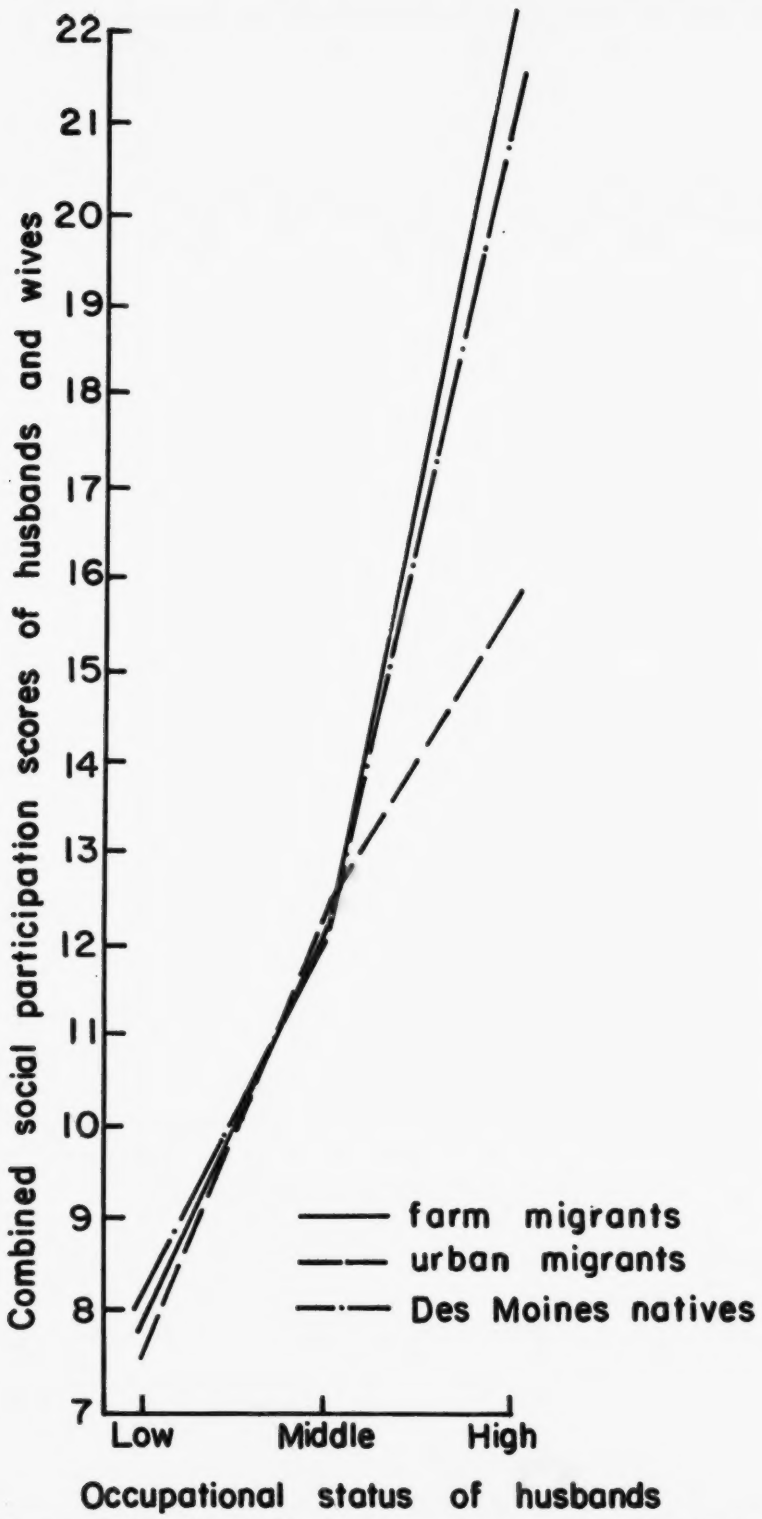

Fig. 17. Medians for combined social participation scores of husbands and wives by the occupational status of husbands for farm and urban-migrant and Des Moines native couples.

Religious Affiliations

It has been suggested that the religious sect, in contrast to a church of one of the established denominations, better satisfies the religious needs of many rural newcomers to cities and serves to cushion their abrupt exposure to urban life.[17] If this is true we would expect that larger numbers of the farm-migrant families than urban-migrant families would have affiliated with sects in Des Moines.

[17] John B. Holt. Holiness religion, cultural shock and social reorganization. Amer. Soc. Rev. 5:740-747. 1940.

The data, however, provide no support for this view. Only about 2 percent of the farm-migrant husbands, 1 percent of the urban-migrant husbands and 4 percent of the husbands who were natives of Des Moines were affiliated with sectarian religious organizations. Percentages for sectarian affiliation among the wives were only slightly higher; 4 percent for the farm migrants, 2 percent for the urban migrants and 4 percent for wives native to Des Moines. Church memberships or affiliations of the three groups of husbands and wives generally showed only minor fluctuations in relation to specific denominations.

Expectations of and Actualities Following Moving to Des Moines

Wives in the two migrant samples were asked a series of questions about expectations that members of their families had concerning Des Moines when they first moved to the city and now actual experiences have compared with those expectations. In terms of our general hypothesis, wives in the farm-migrant group were expected to express about the same kinds of expectations and the same levels of satisfaction as other migrant wives.

Nonsignificant differences occurred between the responses of the two groups of wives for most items; significant differences occurred for two. Only the items for which there were signficant differences are shown in table 12.

About three-fourths of the wives in each sample said that the economic position of their families had definitely improved since coming to Des Moines. Nonsignificant differences were observed for the wives' expectations regarding the friendliness of townspeople and for the wives' opinions of the actual friendliness of townspeople to the migrants. Farm-migrant wives and urban-mi-

Table 12. Percentages of farm and urban-migrant wives reporting various changes experienced by their families since moving to Des Moines, their expectations regarding the move and actualities following the move.

Changes, expectations of and actualities since moving to Des Moines	Farm migrants	Urban migrants
Attitude toward associating in town activities		
N	107	110
Keep out pretty much	18.7	10.9
Have some association	74.8	71.8
Have a great deal of association	6.5	17.3
Total	100.0	100.0
$X^2 = 7.43$, df = 2, $P < 0.05$		
What actually happened regarding town activities		
N	101	106
We kept out	19.8	18.9
We associated some	69.3	52.8
We associated a great deal	10.9	28.3
Total	100.0	100.0
$X^2 = 10.22$, df = 2, $P < 0.05$		
Expectation about staying when first moved to Des Moines		
N	110	113
Remain temporarily	8.2	19.5
Remain if we liked it	27.3	13.3
Definitely remain	64.5	67.2
Total	100.0	100.0
$X^2 = 10.59$, df = 2, $P < 0.05$		

grant wives also did not differ significantly in their expectancies about becoming part of the community, or in their reports of what actually happened in regard to becoming part of the community. Urban-migrant wives and farm-migrant wives were equally good at predicting what would happen. About two-thirds of each group correctly predicted what would happen with regard to the friendliness of townspeople, and three-fourths correctly predicted what would happen with regard to becoming accepted in the community.

Although they did not differ in expectations and activities regarding becoming accepted in the community, farm migrants and urban migrants expressed significantly different expectations, however, regarding involvement in town activities (table 12). A greater proportion of farm migrants than of urban migrants expected to keep out of town activities pretty much, roughly equal percentages expected to have some association, and a smaller proportion of the farm migrants than of urban migrants looked forward to having a great deal of association in town activities. Consistent with these expectations, a greater proportion of urban migrants than farm migrants reported that they participated actively in town affairs. In this case, the farm migrants were better predictors, but differences between migrant groups in accuracy of prediction regarding expected and actual participation in town associations were nonsignificant.

The responses of farm migrant wives to questions about their anticipated and actual level of activity did not agree with estimates of their relative level of participation provided by social participation scores. Farm migrants anticipated less involvement in town affairs than urban migrants, and, consistent with their expectations, more farm migrants than urban migrants expressed the opinion that they had kept pretty much out of town affairs. Yet, social participation scores of farm-migrant husbands and wives were not significantly different from those of the other husbands and wives. This suggests that farm migrants held goals for their association with others that surpassed their actual performance. Although participation scores indicate that the involvement of farm migrants is at par relative to other persons, farm migrants were inclined to conceive of their involvement as below par.

The remaining significant difference between migrant groups was in expectations about the permanency of their residence in Des Moines. A greater proportion of the urban-migrant families had expected to remain in Des Moines only temporarily, whereas a greater proportion of the farm-migrant families had expected to continue in the city if they liked it. Most of the families in both samples, however, expected to remain permanently.

Reasons for Moving to Des Moines

The main reason for moving to Des Moines for both migrant groups was to secure higher paying or otherwise better employment. All farm migrants and 84 percent of the urban migrants gave this type of reason for moving to Des Moines. Other less frequently reported reasons (given with approximately equal proportions by both groups) were: family reasons (20 percent), education (4 percent), and a desire to leave the communities they had been living in (3 and 2 percent respectively).

Ways in Which Families Felt They Were Better Off or Less Well Off Since Moving to Des Moines

Fifty-eight percent of the farm-migrant wives and 61 percent of the urban-migrant wives indicated ways in which their families were better off since moving to Des Moines. Table 13 presents their responses. The leading response for both groups referred to a better job for their husbands and improved incomes. For both groups, improvement in living conditions or in housing was the second most frequently cited gain, but almost twice as large a proportion of farm-migrant as urban-migrant wives gave this response. The same was true of the fourth ranking response, "like it" or "enjoyed the move." The latter suggests a general feeling that living conditions in the city were an improvement over their former communities. This feeling was more prevalent among the farm migrants than among the urban migrants. Otherwise, numbers of responses of the two groups of wives were relatively similar for

Table 13. Number and percentages of farm and urban-migrant wives reporting various ways that they felt their families were better off since moving to Des Moines.

Ways in which families are better off	Farm migrants		Urban migrants	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Better job, more income, more regular hours	52	54.7[a]	48	53.9[a]
Better living conditions, nice home	46	48.4	23	25.8
More friends, more social life	19	20.0	19	21.3
Like it, enjoyed the move	13	13.7	7	7.9
Better schools	7	7.4	8	9.0
More recreation for adults and children	9	9.5	13	14.6
More settled	8	8.4	7	7.9
Husband out of service, through school	4	4.2	5	5.6
Like the church	3	3.2	2	2.2
Miscellaneous	13	13.7	17	19.1
Total number of responses	174		149	
Total responding	95		89	

[a] Total of percentages exceed 100 because some wives gave more than one response.

other ways in which they felt that their families were better off since coming to Des Moines.

Thirty-two percent of the farm-migrant and 44 percent of the urban-migrant wives reported ways in which their families were less well off as a result of having moved to Des Moines. There was less agreement on ways in which they were less well off than on ways in which they were better off. As shown in table 14, nearly half (47 percent) of farm-migrant wives disliked the traffic congestion, dirt, noise and pace of city life compared with only 5 percent of the urban-migrant wives. In contrast, a greater proportion of urban migrants (32 percent) than of farm migrants (19 percent) missed their close friends. Also, urban migrants more frequently complained of higher taxes and expensive housing (27 percent compared with 11 percent for farm migrants). Otherwise, roughly equal proportions of respondents in both groups complained of unfriendly neighbors, not feeling safe, poor recreational facilities, difficulties in rearing children, husbands being dissatisfied with their work, children's unhappiness at school, or that the families just did not like Des Moines.

Table 14. Number and percentages of farm and urban-migrant wives reporting various ways that they felt their families were less well off since moving to Des Moines.

Ways in which families are less well off	Farm migrants		Urban migrants	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
Dislike congestion, dirt, noise, pace of city	25	47.2[a]	3	4.8[a]
Neighbors unfriendly, city strange, not safe	11	20.8	14	22.2
Miss close friends	10	18.9	20	31.7
Recreation facilities not as good	9	17.0	12	19.0
More expensive taxes and housing higher	6	11.3	17	27.0
Husband less satisfied with his job	5	9.4	7	11.1
More difficult raising a family	3	5.7	2	3.2
Children unhappy at school	2	3.8	2	3.2
Hard to adjust, don't like Des Moines	4	7.5	6	9.5
Miscellaneous	4	7.5	9	14.3
Total number of responses	79		92	
Total number responding	53		63	

[a] Total of percentages exceed 100 because some wives gave more than one response.

Plans to Move

Plans to move from their present residence showed little variation by migrant type; 15 percent of the farm migrants, 18 percent of the urban migrants, and 18 percent of the native families said that they planned to move. Among those planning to move, approximately the same reasons were given, regardless of migration type. These reasons included the need for a larger or better house, having a home of their own, living in a friendlier neighborhood, and moving closer to employment or to shopping, churches and other facilities.

Satisfaction With Living Conditions

Responses to a series of questions about the degree of satisfaction with the following 10 items were used in developing an index of satisfaction with living conditions in Des Moines: (1) the size and room arrangements of one's house, (2) amount of open space about the house, (3) amount of payment for the home, (4) nearness to friends and relatives, (5) suitability of neighborhood as a place in which to rear children, (6) adequacy of schools, (7) medical care, (8) shopping facilities, (9) recreation for adults and (10) the wholesomeness of recreation for children and youth. When scored as 3 for satisfied, 2 for neutral and 1 for dissatisfied, the items did not form a unidimensional scale.[18] Mean scores for each group of families were not significantly different, indicating no greater dissatisfaction with the city among farm-migrant families than among urban-migrant or native families.

Recommendations for Improvements in Des Moines

Table 15 shows that the two migrant groups also made similar kinds of recommendations for improving conditions in Des Moines. Families native to Des Moines generally were less critical and made fewer recommendations. Greater proportions of the migrants than natives felt that more effort should be made to make people feel more welcome and, particularly, that churches should be friendlier.

About equal proportions of wives in the three groups gave recommendations calling for changes in organizations or institutions. Such recommendations were suggested by 69 percent of the farm migrants, by 72 percent of the urban migrants and by 73 percent of the Des Moines natives. Recommendations requiring greater personal adaptation on the part of the migrants were cited less frequently. Only 31 percent of the farm-migrant wives, 28 percent of the urban-migrant wives and 27 percent of the native wives gave such recommendations.

FAMILY RELATIONSHIPS

Sources of Advice on Problems

Gemeinschaft norms emphasizing close personal relationships, semi-extended family relationships and resolution of problems through informal

[18] Correlations between each of the ten items and the index ranged between 0.28 and 0.58 for the farm-migrant sample, 0.07 and 0.66 for the urban-migrant sample, and 0.20 and 0.64 for the Des Moines natives. The means were 0.47, 0.43 and 0.41 for the farm migrant, urban migrant and Des Moines natives, respectively.

Table 15. Number and percentages of farm and urban migrant and Des Moines native wives giving various recommendations for improvements in Des Moines.

Recommendations for improvements in Des Moines	Farm migrants		Urban migrants		Des Moines natives	
	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)	(N)	(%)
For changes in community organization						
More, better parking, transportation, streets, street marking, garbage collection, clean-up slums	7	3.7	7	3.4	8	12.9
Lower taxes, provide more and higher paying jobs	22	11.7	4	2.0	10	16.1
Improve schools	1	0.5	0	0.0	1	1.6
Improve housing, have better real estate men	5	2.7	5	2.5	2	3.2
Make you more welcome, be friendlier	45	23.9	58	28.6	11	17.7
Provide better recreational facilities	9	4.8	7	3.4	4	6.5
Provide better information about the city, activities, schools, professional services, businesses, government, etc.	2	1.1	13	6.4	4	6.5
Provide more effective law enforcement	0	0.0	2	1.0	0	0.0
Create more community spirit	0	0.0	1	0.5	0	0.0
Churches should be friendlier	39	20.7	50	24.6	5	8.1
Total	130	—	147	—	45	—
For persons to assume on their own						
Take greater initiative in establishing friendships and in joining organizations	51	27.2	54	26.6	15	24.2
Learn about shopping centers	3	1.6	1	0.5	0	0.0
Choose your neighborhood carefully	4	2.1	1	0.5	2	3.2
Total	58	—	56	—	17	—
Grand total	188	100.0	203	100.0	62	100.0

means generally are thought to be more characteristic of rural than of urban social systems. On this basis, farm-migrant persons might be expected to seek help from friends and relatives more frequently than would urban-reared persons. This hypothesis was tested by asking respondents to whom they would turn for advice in relation to child-rearing problems and serious financial matters or for help in resolving serious emotional and personal problems. Sources of advice included close friends, clergymen, relatives, lawyers, social workers, bankers, loan company officials, physicians and school personnel. In comparison with other wives, farm-migrant wives were expected to name relatives, close friends and possibly clergymen more frequently. In contrast, the other wives were expected to more frequently name persons with whom they would have formal, secondary group relationships. However, as shown in table 16, this hypothesis was not supported.

The few major differences between the groups in sources of advice on child-rearing were: (1) that greater proportions of the two migrant groups than of the native group said that they would turn to close friends, physicians or school personnel and (2) that a greater proportion of natives than of migrants said they would seek help from relatives. Natives of Des Moines also more frequently said they would seek advice from relatives in solving serious financial matters, whereas the two migrant groups of families more frequently said they would seek aid for these problems from lawyers or bankers. Greater use of relatives among the wives in the Des Moines native sample is understandable because these families had the largest number of relatives living in Des Moines. The farm-migrant and urban-migrant families more frequently reported that they would turn to physicians for advice on serious emotional and personal problems than did the families native to Des Moines. Otherwise, proportions of wives in each of the three family types reporting they would seek advice from various sources were relatively similar.

Extended Family Relations

Several indexes are presented in table 17 concerning extended family patterns for each of the three samples. Familism scores were based on four items which had a reproducibility of 0.91.

Table 16. Percentages of farm and urban migrant and Des Moines native wives giving various sources for advice on child rearing, financial matters and emotional problems.

Type and sources of advice	Farm migrants	Urban migrants	Des Moines natives
Advice in rearing children[a]			
Close friend	26.5	27.9	17.8
Clergyman	25.5	17.3	15.0
Relative	22.4	20.2	44.9
Social worker	8.2	6.7	5.6
Physician	43.9	45.2	36.4
School person	31.6	28.8	21.5
Other	1.0	3.8	2.8
Advice on serious financial matters[b]			
Close friend	11.0	15.3	11.2
Clergyman	8.5	8.3	10.4
Relative	29.9	35.2	47.2
Lawyer	27.4	31.0	14.6
Banker	41.5	40.7	35.4
Loan company	4.9	1.4	6.9
Physician	3.0	2.1	1.4
Other	5.5	5.5	3.5
Advice about serious emotional and personal problems[c]			
Close friend	6.2	6.9	6.3
Clergyman	42.3	43.4	41.7
Relative	19.0	11.7	17.4
Lawyer	1.2	3.4	1.4
Social worker	3.7	6.9	1.4
Physician	59.5	65.5	47.9
School person	1.2	2.1	0.0

[a] Lawyer, banker and loan company were not mentioned by any respondents.

[b] Social worker and school person were not mentioned by any respondents.

[c] Banker, loan company and other were not mentioned by any respondents.

Table 17. Median position on various family-relationship variables of farm and urban migrant and Des Moines native families by the occupational status of husbands.

Family-relationship variables	Occupational status of husbands											
	Farm migrants				Urban migrants				Des Moines natives			
	Low	Middle	High	Total	Low	Middle	High	Total	Low	Middle	High	Total
N	89	44	31	164	34	42	69	145	59	45	40	144
Wives' familism scores	7.1	7.2	7.1	7.1	7.5	7.0	6.6	6.8	6.8	7.1	6.9	6.8
Percent of families reporting large family gatherings	80.9	88.6	90.3	84.8	61.8	71.4	75.4	71.0	74.6	88.9	90.0	83.3
Yearly frequency of large family gatherings												
Wives' relatives	1.7	1.9	1.2	1.8	1.2	0.4	1.1	1.1	2.0	2.5	2.7	2.4
Husbands' relatives	1.4	1.5	1.7	1.5	0.1	1.2	0.6	1.0	0.4	2.3	2.1	1.7
Number of husband's relatives in Des Moines	1.3	1.0	0.8	1.0	2.0	0.8	0.6	0.7	3.6	3.4	3.0	3.4
Number of wife's relatives in Des Moines	1.3	0.8	1.0	1.0	1.2	0.6	0.6	0.7	3.7	3.2	3.1	3.4
Monthly frequency of visits (per relative) of relatives in Des Moines to the respondent's home	2.1	2.4	3.5	2.5	2.2	4.0	1.7	2.2	1.7	1.8	2.0	1.8
Monthly frequency of visits to homes of relatives (per relative) living in Des Moines	2.4	2.4	3.7	2.5	2.5	4.2	1.8	2.4	2.0	2.4	2.3	2.2
Yearly frequency of visits of relatives (per relative) living outside of Des Moines to the respondent's home	1.7	2.1	1.6	1.8	1.1	1.3	1.3	1.2	1.0	1.0	1.2	1.0
Yearly frequency of visits to homes of relatives (per relative) living outside of Des Moines	2.0	2.4	2.1	2.1	1.5	1.8	1.6	1.6	0.9	0.4	0.7	0.5

The familism items referred to attitudes toward (1) the desirability of the whole family spending evenings together, (2) having a house where family members could be together, (3) being located near relatives and (4) having enough room for parents to feel free to move in. Other measures were: kind and frequency of family gatherings, number of relatives in Des Moines and frequency of visits with relatives in Des Moines and relatives living outside of Des Moines.

The median familism score for the farm-migrant sample was only slightly higher than those for the other two samples. Also, little variation existed among the familism scores for the three samples when the occupational status of husbands was controlled.[19]

Percentages of families reporting large family gatherings were similar for the farm-migrant families (84.8 percent) and for the Des Moines natives (83.3 percent), both exceeding the 71 percent found for the urban-migrant families. The same ranking prevailed for comparisons among migration experience types in each of the three occupational status levels. Within each of the three samples, the percentages of families reporting large family gatherings increased as occupational status of husbands increased.

The annual frequency of large family gatherings involving wives' relatives was greatest among the Des Moines native families and was least among the urban-migrant families. Farm migrants were intermediate but closer to the frequency of the native families. These differences persisted when the occupational status of husbands was introduced as a control variable. With the exception of the low status level, the Des Moines native families also reported greater frequencies of large family gatherings involving husbands' relatives than did the other two types of families. At all three status levels, the urban-migrant families had the lowest median frequency of large family gatherings involving the husbands' relatives. There was no clear or consistent relationship between the occupational status of husbands and large family gatherings with their relatives.[20]

Large family gatherings centered about similar kinds of events, regardless of sample group. These events included holidays, birthdays, reunions, picnics, parties and dinners.

The native families reported the greatest number of relatives living in the city, as might be expected, and the urban-migrant families reported the fewest. These differences required that measures for frequency of visiting with relatives be controlled to eliminate differences in proximity of relatives. This was done by computing the frequency of visiting with related families on a per-relative basis and distinguishing between relatives living in Des Moines and relatives living outside of the city. Frequencies for visits to relatives'

[19] Nonsignificant relationships existed between familism and the husbands' occupational status scores for the farm-migrant and Des Moines native samples, whereas a significant negative relationship was observed for the urban-migrant sample ($r = -0.20$).

[20] None of the six relationships between the frequency of large family gatherings of husbands' or wives' relatives was significantly associated with the occupational status of husbands in the three samples.

homes and for visits of relatives to the respondents' homes are presented in table 17.

The median frequency of monthly visits of relatives living in Des Moines (per relative) to the respondents' homes was slightly greater among the farm-migrant families than among the urban-migrant families and was lowest among the native families. At the low and at the middle occupational status levels, medians were highest among urban-migrant families and lowest among native families. At the high status level, however, the median for the farm-migrant families was considerably greater than the other two medians, and the urban-migrant families had the lowest median. Total median monthly visits to homes of relatives (per relative) living in Des Moines differed only slightly among the three groups of families. Variations in medians by status levels within migrant types followed the same pattern already described for visits of relatives to the respondents' homes.

Visits with relatives living outside Des Moines, both at their own homes and at the relatives' homes, occurred most frequently among the farm-migrant families and least frequently among families native to Des Moines. These differences remained for each set of comparisons based on occupational status levels. Regardless of occupational status of husbands, farm-migrant families reported more frequent visits with relatives living outside Des Moines. The large differences between the farm-migrant families and other families in frequency of visiting with relatives outside Des Moines were not consistent with the lack of differences in frequency of visiting with relatives living in Des Moines. The explanation of this inconsistency was sought in the location of relatives living outside Des Moines.

Frequency of association between separated parties likely is inversely related to costs, notably of time and money required, both of which are directly related to the distance. As shown in table 18, greater percentages of relatives of farm-migrant families lived in Polk County (the county in which Des Moines is located), in adjacent counties, or elsewhere in Iowa than did the relatives of other families. In contrast, greater proportions of relatives of the urban-migrant families or of native families lived in adjacent states, elsewhere in the United States or in a foreign country.

Table 18. Percentages of farm and urban migrant and Des Moines families with relatives living outside of Des Moines by area of the residence of the relative.

Residence area	Farm migrants	Urban migrants	Des Moines natives
N	824	625	294
Polk or adjacent county	20.9	4.3	10.6
Elsewhere in Iowa	37.2	21.3	16.3
Adjacent states to Iowa	12.9	25.4	17.7
Elsewhere in United States or in a foreign country	29.0	49.0	55.4

$X^2 = 210.24$, $df = 6$, $P < 0.001$.

Thus, the greater association of the farm-migrant families with relatives living outside Des Moines may be explained by the closer proximity of those relatives.

One additional set of data further reduces the importance of the small differences, which might otherwise be taken as evidence of greater extended family relationships among families having farm backgrounds. Although a greater proportion of farm-migrant families (45 percent) than of urban-migrant families (31 percent) had relatives living in Des Moines at the time the families moved to Des Moines, equal proportions (26 percent) of each sample reported that their relatives had influenced their decision to move to Des Moines.

In summary, the data on extended family relations point to homogeneity rather than to differences among the three groups of families.

Children's Adjustments to the Move to Des Moines

Wives were asked if they had school-age children at the time their families moved to Des Moines. Farm-migrant families included 79 school-age children, and urban-migrant families included 69 school-age children. At the time of the move, 70 percent of the children in the farm-migrant sample and 65 percent of those in the urban-migrant sample were in elementary school; 23 percent of the farm-migrant children and 22 percent of the urban-migrant children were in junior high school; and 8 percent of the farm-migrant children and 13 percent of the urban-migrant children were in high school. The similarity in grade levels between the two groups of children also is reflected in their median grade levels: 5.1 for the children in the farm-migrant sample and 5.2 for the children in the urban-migrant sample.

Wives with school-age children at the time of the move were asked about the relative size of the children's first Des Moines school in comparison with their former school and how well the children liked the new as compared with the old school. Table 19 shows that a greater proportion of children from families in the farm-migrant sample than in the urban-migrant sample entered larger schools when they came to Des Moines. In contrast, greater proportions of children in the urban-migrant sample found Des Moines schools either the same size or smaller than their previous schools.

Differences in sizes of previous schools relative to Des Moines schools, however, were not clearly related to differences in how mothers felt

Table 19. Percentage of farm and urban migrant and Des Moines native families whose children's first Des Moines schools were larger, smaller or the same size as the school they attended immediately before coming to Des Moines.

Sizes of Des Moines schools entered relative to previous schools	Farm migrants	Urban migrants
N	79	69
Larger	63.3	26.1
Same size	10.1	39.1
Smaller	26.6	34.8
Total	100.0	100.0

$X^2 = 25.04$, df = 2, $P < 0.001$.

Table 20. Percentage of farm and urban migrant and Des Moines native families reporting that their children were more or less satisfied with Des Moines schools than with their previous schools.

Satisfaction with Des Moines schools relative to previous schools	Farm migrants	Urban migrants
N	79	69
More	34.2	46.4
Same	54.4	23.2
Less	11.4	30.4
Total	100.0	100.0

$X^2 = 16.94$, df = 2, $P < 0.01$.

Table 21. Percentage of farm and urban migrant and Des Moines native families reporting that their children were more or less satisfied with their new friends than with their friends before moving to Des Moines.

Satisfaction with new friends relative to friends before moving to Des Moines	Farm migrants	Urban migrants
N	79	68
More	34.1	47.1
Same	58.3	30.9
Less	7.6	22.0
Total	100.0	100.0

$X^2 = 12.91$, df = 2, $P < 0.01$.

that their children liked their Des Moines schools. As shown in table 20, more than twice as large a proportion of children in the farm-migrant sample than in the urban-migrant sample were reported to have liked both schools about the same. In contrast, greater proportions of mothers in the urban-migrant sample reported that their children either liked Des Moines schools better or less well than previous schools.

Wives also were asked how well the children liked their Des Moines friends relative to those left when they moved to Des Moines. Again a greater proportion of the children in the farm-migrant sample liked their new friends equally as well as previous ones, whereas greater proportions of children in the urban-migrant sample either liked their new friends better or less well than their previous friends (table 21).

There is no evidence from the latter two comparisons that, at the time of moving to Des Moines, the children whose parents had a farm or rural background had any more difficulty in adjusting to the move than did children whose parents had urban backgrounds—at least as judged by their mothers' reports. About 88 percent of the children in the farm-migrant sample, compared with 70 percent of the children in the urban-migrant sample, liked their Des Moines schools as well as or better than previous ones. The comparable percentages for liking friends were 92 and 78, with greater proportions of the children in the urban-migrant sample liking their Des Moines friends and schools less well than previous ones. In the absence of more detailed data, these results suggest that the children in the urban-migrant sample, rather than those in the farm-migrant sample, had greater difficulty in adjusting to the initial changes resulting from their moves to Des Moines.[21]

Family Help Patterns

Another component of familism is the exchange of aid among members of related families. Assuming that farm-migrant couples came from more familistic backgrounds than did urban migrants or urban natives, we might expect that greater proportions of the farm migrants would report giving or receiving help through the kinship structure than would urban migrants or natives. In addition, we might expect that, because natives' families have more relatives in Des Moines, greater proportions of natives' families would report exchanging aid with relatives than would the urban-migrant families.

Family aid patterns were measured by two sets of responses to 11 items. One set referred to aid respondents reported that they had provided during the past 3 years to relatives, other than unmarried children living at home. The other set included the same items and asked about help received from relatives during the past 3 years.

Sussman found a direct relationship between socio-economic status and certain kinds of fam-

[21] More detailed data on the urban adjustments of farm-reared children are available from a recent study in Cedar Rapids. Three groups of seventh and eleventh grade children were compared: (1) children who had moved there from farms; (2) children who had moved there from other cities; and (3) children who always had lived there. In general, the three groups of children were similar in those characteristics measured—personality scores; social relationships, school relations, attitudes and achievement; and parent-child relations. See: Lee G. Burchinal and Perry E. Jacobson. Migration and adjustment of farm and nonfarm families and adolescents in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Iowa Agr. and Home Econ. Exp. Sta. Res. Bul. 516. 1963. And Lee G. Burchinal and Perry E. Jacobson, Migration and adjustment of farm and nonfarm families and adolescents in Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Rural Soc. 28:364-378. 1963.

ily aid patterns.[22] If uncontrolled, the family-status differences existing among the families in the three samples used in this study could confound interpretation of differences in family help patterns. To ascertain the association of aid patterns with family status, occupational status scores of husbands were correlated with the percent of wives who responded "yes" to each help item and the number of kinds of help given or received.

For the farm-migrants, all 24 correlations between status scores and giving or receiving each of the 11 types of help, total number of types given and total number of types received were non-significant. For the urban-migrants, status scores were significantly correlated with five types of help given but with none of the types of help received. Significant correlations occurred between status and gifts of money (0.18), advice on business or money matters (0.19), advice on personal or family matters (0.18), vacation and travel (0.20), and number of kinds of help given (0.18). For native families, occupational status scores were significantly correlated with only one kind of help given—financial aid (0.18). Number of kinds of help given was also significantly correlated with status (0.18). Receiving gifts of money was significantly and negatively related to status among native families (–0.26).

Thus, of 72 correlations between status and giving or receiving aid only eight were statistically significant. Since about five significant correlations could have been expected by chance alone and the significant correlations were all low, these results suggest that status was not strongly or consistently related to exchanging aid, either monetary or otherwise, among relatives. These data indicate only if certain kinds of help were given or received and tell nothing of the amounts, frequency or monetary value of aid exchanged. Still, the lack of strong or consistent relationships between status and aid patterns indicates that status differences among the three samples can safely be ignored for comparisons among percentages of each sample giving or receiving help from relatives. These percentages are shown in table 22.

The items of aid are arranged in descending order on the basis of the percentage of "yes" responses of wives in the Des Moines native sample. The native sample was used as the criterion, because, in 6 of the 11 comparisons for giving help and in all 11 comparisons for receiving help, the native Des Moines sample had the largest percentages.

Response to questions about help given to relatives did not provide much support for the hypothesis that farm migrants are more familistic than urban migrants or urban natives. In 5 of the 11 comparisons, the percentage of either urban migrant or native families reporting giving help was higher than the percentage of farm-migrant families, and in two comparisons, the percentages for both urban migrant and urban native families were higher. Even in the four comparisons where percentages of yes responses were highest for farm-migrant families, the differences were small. The greatest difference occurred in responses for the item, "financial aid—loans." The percentage of yes answers for farm migrants was nearly double the percentage for urban migrants (18.3 compared with 9.7), but it was only slightly higher than the percentage for urban natives (16.3). For the other three items, the percentages for the two urban samples were no more than 4 or 5 points lower than the percentage for the farm-migrant sample.

Furthermore, farm migrants reported giving fewer different kinds of help than did the two urban groups. The median number of kinds of help given to relatives was 2.0 for farm migrants, 2.3 for urban migrants and 3.6 for Des Moines natives.

Table 22. Percentage of farm and urban migrant and Des Moines native wives who reported giving or receiving help of related families.

Types of help	Farm migrants	Urban migrants	Des Moines natives
Help given			
Regular gifts to children	67.1	49.0	74.1
Help during illness	41.1	31.7	52.4
Care of children	39.9	17.9	51.7
Financial gifts	30.1	31.0	34.5
Care of house	22.6	15.2	34.3
Advice on personal or family matters	14.6	17.9	21.3
Financial aid, loan	18.3	9.7	16.3
Advice on business or money matters	16.5	13.8	12.2
Vacation and travel	11.6	6.2	6.5
Help in getting to know people	9.8	6.2	6.3
Help in getting a job	6.1	6.9	5.7
Help received			
Regular gifts to children	46.9	57.2	67.6
Care of children	23.0	24.8	44.6
Help during illness	17.2	20.7	37.5
Financial gifts	11.0	24.1	30.8
Care of house	9.2	14.5	25.9
Financial aid or loan	7.9	11.0	15.4
Advice on personal or family matters	5.5	7.6	14.5
Advice on business or money matters	5.6	8.3	12.6
Help in getting a job	1.8	0.0	4.9
Vacation and travel	1.2	2.1	4.2
Help in getting to know people	4.3	2.1	3.5

[22] Marvin B. Sussman. The isolated nuclear family. Social Problems 6:333-340. 1959

A more uniform pattern existed among the responses for receiving aid from relatives. For 9 of the 11 items, the percentages were greatest for the Des Moines native families and least for the farm-migrant families. The two exceptions, for which all affirmative responses were less than 5 percent, occurred for receiving help in finding a job and for getting to know people.

Median numbers of kinds of help received were lower but ranked in the same order as those for the numbers of kinds of help given: 1.3 for farm migrants, 1.7 for urban migrants and 2.7 for Des Moines natives.

The hypothesis that farm-migrant families were more familistic was not supported by the results for either giving or receiving help. When all data were considered together, proportions giving or receiving help were highest for Des Moines native families. The probable explanation for this is that a greater proportion of the Des Moines native families have relatives living in Des Moines. Other data indicate that a larger proportion of the farm-migrant families than of the others have relatives living close by Des Moines. Yet, the percentages of farm-migrant families giving help to relatives were either secondary to or, if greater, were not much different from those for the Des Moines native families. Moreover, for all but two of the comparisons involving receiving help, percentages for farm-migrant families were lowest.

The latter results are contrary to the hypothesis and lead to several lines of conjecture. Are the widely-held views of greater familism among farm or rural families than among urban families invalid?[23] Are these generalizations remnants of a lag in theory construction pertaining to American family organization? And was the alleged greater familism in rural areas present in the recent past but not present now because of social change, as general theory asserts, or have theorists over-emphasized the apparent stability of rural family life and its greater familistic character in contrast to the alleged disorganization and extreme nuclear form of urban family life?[24] Data developed from the present study are inadequate for answering these questions. It is clear, however, that if the spouses in the farm-migrant sample had experienced greater familism in their younger years, these norms no longer influence their behavior. But this still leaves unanswered the question as to why farm-migrant families should least frequently receive help. Are there factors associated with farm-to-city migration that reduce family aid patterns and are not present or do not have the same effect on aid patterns in intercity migration? Again, our data cannot answer this question, although the results raise quesions for further research.

Even though differences existed among the proportion of families in each sample who gave or received various types of help, the rank-order correlations between samples were very high. The Spearman rank-order correlations for kinds of help given among the three pairs of samples ranged from 0.88 to 0.97, with the median correlation being 0.93. Similar rank-order correlations for receiving help ranged from 0.95 to 0.99, with the median being 0.97. The coefficient of concordance was 0.94 for the agreement among types of help given by families in the three samples and 0.98 for help received.

The mean ranking of the eleven kinds of help given by all families in the three samples was:

(1.0) regular gifts to children;
(2.0) help during illness;
(3.4) care of children;
(3.8) financial gift;
(5.2) care of house;
(5.9) advice on personal or family matters;
(7.3) advice on business or money matters;
(7.5) financial aid, loans;
(9.6) vacation and travel;
(9.6) help in getting to know people; and
(10.5) help in getting a job.

Aside from a tie in the next-to-last two items and a reversal between financial aid and advice on business and money matters, the mean ranking for proportions of families providing help to relatives was the same as that shown in table 22. Only slight variation also occurred between the ranking of the items for help received from relatives, as listed in table 22, and the mean ranking for all families, which was:

(1.0) regular gifts to children;
(2.0) care of children;
(3.2) help during illness;
(3.8) financial gifts;
(5.0) care of house;
(6.0) financial aid, loans;
(7.3) advice on business or money matters;
(7.8) advice on personal or family matters;
(9.8) help in getting a job;
(9.9) help in getting to know people; and
(10.4) vacation and travel.

DISCUSSION

Findings of this study confirm the findings of previous research that farm migrants to the city

[23] Other Iowa research shows that nonsignificant differences prevailed among family-role and authority scores for farm, rural nonfarm, small town and Des Moines families. These data cast suspicion on assumed rural-urban differences in family organization. See: Lee G. Burchinal and Ward W. Bauder. Family decision-making and role patterns among Iowa farm and nonfarm families. Iowa Agr. and Home Econ. Exp. Sta. Res. Bul. 528. 1964.

[24] See: Marvin B. Sussman and Lee G. Burchinal. Kin family network: unheralded structure in current conceptualizations of family functioning. Marriage and Family Living 24:231-240. 1962; Marvin B. Sussman and Lee G. Burchinal. Parental aid to married children: implications for family functioning. Marriage and Family Living 24:320-332. 1962.

have lower socio-economic achievement levels than urban-reared persons, but disagree with some previous results which suggest that such differences persist when educational levels are controlled.

Education and age were both contributing factors to variations in socio-economic status of men included in the present samples. But, when these two factors were controlled, most, but not all, status differences among rural-reared and urban-reared migrants and natives were nonsignificant. Differences in occupational achievement, as measured by North-Hatt scores, became nonsignificant; but differences in income and value of real estate in the residential area remained, for the husbands 45 and older and for those with college educations.

Most of the farm-migrant disadvantages in occupational status were due to starting their occupational careers at significantly lower level jobs. Although they were as successful as others in improving status with successive jobs, farm migrants could not, as a group, overcome the disadvantage of the lower starting level. The importance of education was again evident in the fact that those with the higher levels of education, regardless of community of orientation, started their urban job careers at a higher level.

Differences in community participation and family relationships were minor and were largely accounted for by differences in status, as measured by occupation. One of the few differences observed was the difference in perception of the expected and the actual degree of participation in community affairs. This was basically an attitudinal difference. Farm migrants apparently enter the urban situation with the expectation that they will not be able to participate as fully as others in community affairs. Although their membership and activity level in urban formal associations, as measured by social participation scores, was not significantly different from that of urban-reared persons, more farm migrants than urban migrants thought that they had not participated fully. Farm migrants apparently come to the city with different standards of participation in community affairs or they find their participation in community affairs less satisfying than do urban migrants. If it is the former, farm migrants did not indicate awareness of it in their recommendations. They were less inclined than urban migrants to recommend that more information about the city be made available to prospective migrants. This leaves, as an alternative, the hypothesis that, despite concrete evidence to the contrary, participation by farm migrants in urban community affairs leaves them with the feeling that they have not become as fully involved as others. It suggests that adequate involvement in the smaller rural community includes an element of psychological identification that farm migrants are less successful in achieving in the city than urban migrants.

Most differences in the respondents' evaluation of the consequences of the move to the family were also nonsignificant. Even though farm migrants had lower socio-economic achievement levels, they were as unanimous as urban migrants in reporting that their families had experienced financial gains because of the move to Des Moines. This serves as an added reminder that migrants to the city have two bases from which to evaluate their success in achieving desired goals; their community of orientation and the urban center. Farm migrants could, therefore, truthfully say that the move had improved their status and at the same time recognize, as they did in answering the question on social class, that they were below many of their urban-reared neighbors in social status as measured by urban standards.

Disagreements in results in this and previous studies may arise from differences in characteristics of the urban localities or from differences in the degree of norm correspondence between migrants' communities of orientation and those to which they have migrated.

Although farm residence generally implies a small community environment, the wide dispersion of small urban places (2,500 population and over) in Iowa suggests that many of the farm migrants in the sample grew up in communities with urban centers, and some of the urban migrants were from these same centers. The overlap in size range is wide enough to include farm migrants who have grown up in communities centered on metropolitan places and urban migrants who grew up in towns of 2,500 that are centers of essentially rural communities organized completely around agriculture.

Moreover, the proportion of persons in Des Moines who have rural backgrounds is, no doubt, larger than in many other cities, particularly industrial centers elsewhere in the nation. However, there is no reason to think that the proportion of persons with rural backgrounds would be any larger in Des Moines, Iowa, than in nearby Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Yet, more differences in socio-economic achievement persisted in Cedar Rapids than in Des Moines when differences in education were controlled. Although still speculative, the most logical explanation of these differences lies in differences between the occupational structures of the two cities.

Although an increase in the number of years of school would go a long way in eliminating the disadvantages of farm migrants in competing with urban migrants and urban natives for urban

jobs and incomes, availability of educational facilities is no assurance of their use.

If the lack of facilities for advanced schooling in rural areas were the only limitation, it could be assumed that after migrating to the city the farm migrant would see that his children took advantage of the greater opportunities for education; and the differences in educational and occupational attainment between the children of farm migrants and the children of urban migrants or urban natives would be nonsignificant. The limited data of this study indicate that this is not the case. This suggests that certain attitudes toward educational and occupational achievement are characteristic of farm backgrounds and persist after migration to the city. Any program to increase schooling among potential migrants from farm and rural areas must take into account these attitudinal factors.

No attempt to measure quality of education was made. Only the gross measure of years spent in attendance at school was used. Obviously, time is only one dimension of formal education that can influence preparation for assimilation to a new urban environment. Identification and measurement of the other dimensions of formal education and of other elements in the early social environment of potential migrants are needed.